

Another Indian Rope Trick
—by An American Cartoonist

BRITISH PROPAGANDA
IN AMERICA

By the same Author

Secrets of Japan.	(Three Editions in English and six translations.)
Vanishing Empire.	
Behind the Guns.	
Hindu America.	
Inside America.	

BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

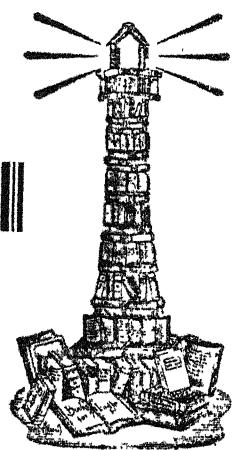
By

CHAMAN LAL

IIPA LIBRARY



21641



**KITAB MAHAL
ALLAHABAD**

First Edition, Oct., 1945

COPYRIGHT

No portion of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publishers except by reviewers who wish to quote brief passages.

PRINTED BY M. K. DIKSHIT AT THE JAGAT PRESS,
ALLAHABAD AND PUBLISHED BY KITAB MAHAL,
56-A, ZERO ROAD, ALLAHABAD.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	Preface	... i
	A Mendacious Campaign	... xviii
I	The Holy Brigade	... 1
II	Clumsy Propaganda	... 13
III	A Nobel Prize Essay	... 28
IV	Indian "Stooges"	... 37
V	Katherine Mayo to Walter Lippman	49
VI	Bogus Friends of Gandhi	... 64
VII	Apologia for Conquest	... 80
VIII	Holy Lies	... 101
IX	Champion Bluffs	... 112

ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece—Rope Trick.

Facing P.1—Suttee.

Facing P.30—The Lion Tamer Changes his
Act.

Facing P.112—Mother India.

These cartoons originally appeared in American papers.

PREFACE

"Men never turn rogues without turning fools", said Thomas Paine, the great American revolutionary writer. This truly applies to the authors of the anti-Indian propaganda carried on in the United States by our rulers and their Indian hirelings. I do not agree with the Hindustan Times^{*} that the British are good propagandists. I agree with the view of a reputed member of Lord Linlithgow's cabinet, who said (of course in a private talk) that the British propaganda is simply clumsy and stupid.

The success of any Government propaganda should not be judged by the number of papers subsidised by a Government for the dirty job of maligning a helpless nation whose leaders in concentration camps are deprived of the opportunity to hit back, on the contrary it should be judged by the reactions of the man on the street—the common man (in the words of Henry Wallace) "Tell Gandhi keep the British hitting", was the message average Americans always gave me throughout the United States. Judging from this standard the anti-Indian propaganda in America miserably failed except for a short

*The Editorial referred to is printed after the Preface.

viii BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

duration in 1942 when British propagandists hoped that by discrediting Gandhi and the Indian National Congress as friends of Japan they would be able to convince Americans that nationalist India was in secret alliance with the Japanese. It might have been a clever move but it fell flat when honest and bold Americans like Ambassador William Phillips and General Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Head of the Chinese Government, told President Roosevelt and the American people that the Indian National Congress was more anti-fascist than any allied government. The chief British weapon was to depict Congress leaders as friends of Japan and therefore enemies of China, America and Russia. When I managed to leave for America last year, the British censors in Bombay went to the extreme stupidity of confiscating all photographs of Gandhi and Nehru fraternising with Chiang-Kai-Shek. I had secured a whole set of pictures to show them to American friends but the censors in Bombay confiscated them without giving any reasons.

I have no hesitation in stating that I was granted a passport to the U. S. A. on the strict understanding that I would not indulge in lecturing. I tried to keep my word and devoted most of my time to historical research on the ancient relations between Hindu, Aztec, Maya and Inca

cultures of America. But the British authorities compelled me to break my pledge, since they depicted me as an agent of Japan and tried to prove that my book "Vanishing Empire" was almost certainly published by the Japanese Government" (I am quoting from a memorandum written by the British Secretary of the Indian Agency General. I managed to take into my possession the original document which was however snatched from me in Karachi (where I was thrown in the Military lock-up on my return to India.)

I accepted their challenge and fought them every hour of my stay in America. Thereafter, I twice visited the White House and acquainted President Roosevelt with the whole situation in India. I supplied him all the banned and underground literature on British cruelties perpetrated in India during the revolution of 1942. I was received by the Secretary of State, Cordel Hull, Madam Perkins, Minister of Labour, Mr. Henry Wallace (then Vice-President), Mr. Wendell Wilkie and several dozen leading politicians of the United States, Central and South America. I met most of the Ambassadors of the United Nations and also neutral countries. I was invited to a dinner by leaders of the Senate and the Congress in the Senate building where I was asked to speak on India. During the three

X BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

months that I spent in Washington I devoted nearly twenty hours a day in acquainting the American leaders with the true situation in India. I secured hundreds of propaganda documents, circulars, pamphlets, books and 'strictly confidential' notes for British Officials only' distributed by Halifax & Co.

How I managed to smuggle those documents to India will however remain a secret. Some of these materials were published in the form of articles in the Hindustan Times and several other papers. Several nationalist leaders and editors advised me to print the articles in book-form and this is the result. I had never planned to publish a book on the subject but the attitude adopted by the Government of India and its spokesman, Sir Sultan Ahmed, compelled me to incorporate my articles into a book so that the truth may be revealed not only to the people in India but in the United States, China, Russia, England and all other parts of the world where British Propaganda has been trying to mislead public opinion against India.

WHO IS A LIAR ?

Sir Sultan Ahmed as gramophone of his British masters has made some very ridiculous statements in the Central Legislature in connection with the facts brought out by me in my articles.

(i) He says the statements contained there-in are ninety per cent lies. Any reader can see that I have simply reproduced most of the propaganda circulated by his department and his master's—the British Information Services. If the original publications of British and Indian information offices in Washington are full of lies I cannot be held responsible. A statement does not become a lie by mere reproduction and I can claim to have reproduced their propaganda truths very faithfully. So the charge of publishing lies rests on the shoulders of the authors of the original propaganda literature.

(ii) Sir Sultan denies that any Anti-Indian books have been published, subsidised or circulated by the Indian Information Office in Washington. I repeat that the following books among others were definitely arranged to be published, subsidised and circulated in the United States and other countries.

(1) *What does Gandhi want?* by T. A. Raman.

(2) *A Report on India* by T. A. Raman.

(3) *This is India* by Peter Muir.

xii BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

- (4) *India Against the Storm* by Post Wheeler.
- (5) *Verdict on India* by Blreveey Nichols.
- (6) *Mother India* by Katherine Mayo.

The exact number of copies purchased and circulated by British and Indian propaganda offices in Washington is mentioned in the text and I declare that Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai personally admitted having circulated these books. He gave me a copy of Raman's book "What does Gandhi want?" and I secured free copies of about two dozen books from his office. I have them all in my possession and have shown them to Gandhiji and several other leaders and editors in India. Sir Sultan must have those books in his office. If his assistants have not shown him the books I can supply him gratis.

- (iii) I repeat that the authors of these publications were generously subsidised and enjoyed the hospitality of the Government of India and through them the leading Princes. Some of them were whole-time paid agents and their tours were arranged by Sir Sultan's department. Only 'liars' can deny these hundred per cent truths and I am sorry for Sir Sultan who has been misinformed by his office of misinformation.

- (iv) Sir Sultan denies that Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai spies on Indians in the U. S. A. He calls the allegation a black lie. This allegation was made by Mr. G. L. Mehta and not by me, but it is true. Sir Girja Shankar did so in my case and definitely tried to get Shridharani, the famous writer, sent back to India to be locked in prison. I had brought with me a copy of Sir Girja's letter admitting that fact, but that document was seized by the Police Officer who arrested me at Karachi. Sir Sultan can see the document. This complaint against Bajpai was general amongst the Indian residents of U. S. A.
- (v) Sir Sultan may deny a hundred times but it is a fact that Sir Girja Shankar costs India 52 thousand dollars a year which is more than the salary of the President of the United States of America. Sir Sultan cleverly avoids telling us the amount paid in generous allowances and the palatial mansion occupied by Sir Girja. Who pays for it if not the tax-payer of India ? Total up the figures and it comes to fifty-two thousand dollars a year. Similarly

xiv. BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

does his Assistant get a larger salary than the Secretary of the State Department in Washington.

- (vi) Sir Sultan denies that the British Information Services and the Indian Information Office ever distributed copies of Miss Mayo's notorious book, while thousands of politicians, professors, libraries, schools and radio stations received free copies. Some persons received two copies each. The book was being distributed by two agencies even last year when I was in Washington. Who does not know that the late Miss Mayo was a guest of the Viceroy, Governors and Princes and was given fullest assistance by the Government of India.
- (vii) Sir Sultan denies that there are ten thousand British propagandists at work in the U. S. A. and ridicules the statement that there were three thousand British officials in America last year. He says there are only three British officials. He does not know that the number of British officials in Washington alone at one time was eight thousand and three thousand was the minimum number in 1944. Let the United States

Government deny the fact.

(viii) Sir Sultan denies the fact that Rs. 25 to 26 lakhs per year were spent in the United States on anti-Indian propaganda in the years 1942-1943. He gives the figures for the current year and not the stormy years when the propaganda was in full swing. He does not give any figures for 1942-43. In his estimate does he include the following—

- (a) expenses of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai's office ;
- (b) expense incurred on tons of publicity materials, posters, pamphlets, cables sent to the United States of America by air ;
- (c) expenses incurred on sending the various stooges such as "Sarma mission" (which cost more than two lakhs alone), and entertainments given in honour of the stooges ;
- (d) expenses incurred on the special publicity officer maintained for preparing literature sent to America ;
- (e) expenses on air travel to America incurred by the officials of his Department who have had luxury trips to America at short intervals ?

xvi BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

It is no use further questioning his statements since they are all based on complete ignorance. Although ignorance is no excuse in law, yet I am prepared to forgive Sir Sultan, ex-Law Member for his ignorance because I have always known him as a man of high talents and great culture for which Patna his home town is famous. I can only sympathise with him for playing into the hands of interested subordinates.

AMERICA REPLIES TO BRITAIN

Britain's main excuse for its domination of India is the lack of communal agreement in India. America has given the fittest reply to the British Government. British propagandists have wasted millions of dollars in America on telling the Americans how difficult, even impossible, it is to work out the solution of the communal problem in India. These propagandists forget that the United States of America ran up against similar problems in the Phillipines. The British argument is that India has a variety of races and languages. The Phillipines have no less than forty-three ethnographic groups with forty-three different languages and dialects on the 7083 islands which make up the archipelago. India is definitely one geographical unit and has hardly a dozen dialects mostly from

the same mother—Sanskrit. The imperialist-propagandists dwell upon the conflict of religions in India, but they forget that the Phillipines have many religions too. If the Phillipines can be educated in 30 years and a date fixed for their complete independence next year why cannot India be treated similarly? Where there is a will there is a way. British imperialism has thrived on propaganda long enough, it cannot fool the world, not even the British people any longer. We must continue to expose and fight British propaganda in every part of the World. We must fight British imperialism on the home front as well as abroad specially in England and America. A struggle is inevitable and we must prepare for it *NOW*.

VANDE MATRAM!

Bombay,
September, 28, 1945.

CHAMAN LAL.

A MENDACIOUS CAMPAIGN*

The British are good propagandists, whatever may be the tributes they pay Dr. Goebbels. For some years now we have been receiving reports of the intensive propaganda that the British Government and their subsidiary agencies are carrying on in the United States against the Indian nationalist movement. This week we have published in the columns of this paper a series of articles on the nature of this propaganda by an Indian journalist who was recently in the U. S. A. The correspondent makes astounding revelations, though nothing should be astounding about British propaganda against this country. No misrepresentation seems to be too bad, no calumny too vile. Many of our readers, like ourselves, could never have imagined the depths to which British and British-inspired propagandists could descend. The campaign is particularly directed against the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi. British propaganda hopes that by discrediting them, it could cheat Indians of self-government. Ten thousand propagandists of every hue have been kept busy

* Editorial of Hindustan Times of 17/2/ '45 referred to in the Preface.

with guidance notes, background material, press releases and more insidious prompting. We are sorry that the list includes outstanding American journals and journalists, professors and missionaries. We are sorry to find that the Royal Bank of Canada and the Federal Council of the Churches of America should have taken a hand in it. The British Embassy is a powerful centre of contacts and it is no wonder that the British Government are lavishly spending about four crores of rupees a year to defend their policy in this country. It is a rather peculiar irony that Lord Halifax, who as Lord Irwin attained a certain shortlived reputation for statesmanship in this country, should be the patron-saint of this campaign. The Americans are a great people but some of them may be gullible. It is no matter of surprise that some of them even out of mere motiveless malignity, should have been persuaded to lend their names to anti-Indian bulletins and articles. Papers like the *New York Herald Tribune*, journalists like Dorothy Thompson, have been successfully drawn into the magic circle. The office of the Indian Government's Agent-General is a subsidiary agency which, for some reason or other, has to keep step with the Embassy. To questions in the Central Assembly, Sir Olaf Caroe gave some naive replies denying the existence of

xx BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

'secret funds' and affirming that nothing that is not published in India is being allowed to be published in America. We shall know more of that, for this Government, of all Governments in the world, is not expected to be frank or responsible.

The substance of the propaganda material is, however, too clumsy and ridiculous to make any lasting impression. Indian agents have been employed to give a sense of verisimilitude. There have been many painful desertions among the Americans themselves from the ranks of freedom. But we are reliably informed that a feeling of satiation has already spread among the Americans, that while they may still imagine some difficulties about settling the Indian problem, they can no longer be fooled about the main question of Indian freedom. How long can the Americans believe that the Four Freedoms are applied to India ? How many of them could be persuaded to believe, even at the time, that Mahatma Gandhi undertook his fast of 1943 to help the Japanese ? How do the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council like the assumption that if the British element in the Council is removed, the representation of Indian parties and interests in the Council would become irritatingly unbalanced ? How did the Americans, who happened to

see it, like the confidential circular admitting that the Viceroy did not allow Mr. Rajagopalachari to see the Mahatma in jail because it would encourage the 'open rebellion'? In another confidential circular, British propaganda told Americans, long after Mahatma Gandhi had condemned the violence in a letter to the Viceroy, that he was not allowed to see Mr. Jinnah in jail because he had not condemned the disturbances. Does Mr. Jinnah like the compliment that his suggestion to Mahatma Gandhi to open negotiations was mere political window-dressing? In a news release, it is claimed that the Frontier, Assam and other so-called self-governing provinces 'have approximately the same powers as a State of the United States.' The President's Personal Representative, Mr. Phillips, himself was refused an interview with Mahatma Gandhi because the Government of India were anxious to do nothing which would damp the enthusiasm of all those wide and powerful sections of India which were giving such splendid co-operation in the war effort.' In a piece of historical fantasy, the Americans are asked to imagine what Europe would be if India had conquered it, with the shameless claim that if the Muslims have the right to be in India, the British also have a similar right. Sometimes the assertions are too brazenly naive, for

xxii BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

in the same pamphlet it is said that 'every Englishman today fully subscribes to the ideology which lays down that it is wrong for one race to rule another against its will.' Will the British kindly shout it from the housetops in India ?

How long will this last ? The Americans, who have an attachment to first principles, know that freedom should know no qualification, that Indians deserve freedom as much as anyone else. They have had it from the Personal Representative of the President himself. But we would ask the State Department why it should allow this campaign of calumny issuing from the British Embassy ? The Department, according to our correspondent, refused to grant passports to India to certain propagandists sponsored by the British Ministry of Information. If so, the U. S. Government are wiser than the American Press. But will the State Department take steps to put an end to the wrong done to a people whose only fault is that they insist on freedom ? Will the Department stop all facilities offered to British propaganda which has by now played itself out ? We would ask the Government of India too when they will stop this game of frightening people here and bluffing people abroad ? Sir Olaf Caroe may be content to suggest that India's Agent-General

does not put out in America anything that is not put out in India, but few will be deceived by this assurance. Cannot Sir G. S. Bajpai, if he aspires to serve his country more than he serves his alien masters, stop at least the more atrocious libels not only on the Congress but on the whole country ? "I merely sign the bills," he seems to have told our correspondent referring to his role. Is he being paid only to sign bills ? The truth is he is not so guiltless. He can be convicted out of his own mouth.



Suttee.

CHAPTER I

THE HOLY BRIGADE

Lord Halifax (formerly Lord Irwin, the Holy Christian) British Ambassador is working at the helm of a brigade of ten thousand British propagandists in America.

* * * *

It costs Britain four crores of rupees a year, while the amount spent from Indian tax-payers' funds is shrouded in secrecy by jugglery of various budgets at the disposal of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, world's costliest ambassador.

* * * *

British propaganda agents virtually crawl all over the city. There are hundreds of them here. They have taken rooms, placed their key representatives in almost every hotel where delegates and Press representatives are quartered. That gives them an advantage of keeping an eye on all that transpires. Every evening the B. I. S. toss cocktail dinner parties for 'strictly 'big shots.' Whenever they will line-up really powerful names such as top-ranking publishers, columnists and commentators, they bring in Mr. Eden the "dazzler" to give them a frank diplomatic

2 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

"off the record" sales talk. That is what is known in this country as "influencing the influencers."

—(SAN FRANCISCO CABLE TO THE HINDUSTAN TIMES.)

* * * *

America is the happy hunting-ground of anti-India propagandists. They are not to be found in tens or hundreds. There are nearly 10,000 of them engaged in the brisk trade of slandering India.

This is nothing new. Mr. Churchill, Viscount Simon, the late Lord Lytton, and many other noted British Imperialists have been deputed to America from time to time to do damage to the cause of India's freedom. Only, the platoon has swollen into a division under Lord Halifax, known as the 'Holy man.'

Why is Great Britain spending millions—of our money as well as hers—to defame India on the American continent? It is because India looks to the liberty-loving people of America for sympathy and moral support in her struggle and Britain is determined to deprive us of that sympathy and support.

No one knows exactly how far this campaign is run at India's expense, because most of the funds spent from India are "secret funds"

not votable by the Indian Legislature. One estimate has it that the Indian Government spends several lakhs of rupees a year and that the British Government spend about 10 to 12 million dollars a year (four crores of rupees) in the United States for defending British policy in India.

HOW IT BEGAN

For the British Government this is no new policy. They have been carrying on organized propaganda against India since the last war. Mr. Rustomjee was the first Indian propagandist imported to America. Montagu's declarations on India were extensively publicized in America and the people there were told that India would eventually get self-government, but that so far she was not fit for it. The excuses for British procrastination, as given by the propagandists, were: illiteracy, the caste system, child marriages, the Hindu-Muslim problem, etc.

After the war the British Government invited, at the expense of the Indian Government, many educationists, missionaries and others from America for the special purpose of maligning India. Katherine Mayo was the queen of these morale-boosters. Over 1,000,000 copies of her drain-inspector's report, *Mother India*,

4 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

were distributed in America. All members of Congress, high officials of the country, educationists, clubs, societies, churches, business organizations, even schools and colleges, were supplied with copies of her book. Some received as many as three copies—free, of course. Even today copies of this book are distributed free by the British Information Service which is under the direct supervision of that great ‘Christian,’ Lord Halifax, ex-Viceroy of India. In the month of August 1942, people who were listening in on a radio broadcasting station in Boston were frequently exhorted to read Miss Mayo’s book. The name of the sponsor of this programme remained a secret but it would not be difficult to guess.

BAJPAI’S JOB

For the past three years anti-Indian propaganda in America has been vigorously carried on by the British Imperialists both through their officials and their propaganda agents. The Government of India have, of course, been paying a prescribed quota of the expense on these campaigns. With the arrival of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai as India’s first Agent-General and of Mr. J. Hennessey as Information Officer, the office of the Agent-General became the centre of guidance on anti-Indian propaganda

to the various British publicity agents. Such guidance notes and data were usually received by cable or through the diplomatic mail-bag from the Secretary of State for India, the Home Secretary of the Government of India and the Information Officer in the India Office in London. The sources of inspiration until recently were Sir Frederick Puckle (now adviser to Lord Halifax), the Information Department in India and Mr. Joyce of the India Office.

Mr. Hennessey started issuing releases to a large mailing list which was prepared with the co-operation of the British Information Services (formerly called the British Library of Information). These releases were of three types:

1. Vital guidance notes—sent only to British officials and a number of well-tried and trusted pro-British Americans who were actively engaged in carrying on British propaganda in the United States.
2. Background material—confidential, but could be used publicly without revealing its source. Sent to a somewhat wider clientele.
3. Press releases—sent to a public mailing list.

These three mailing lists all reached several thousands of addresses. Hundreds of books, booklets, and pamphlets have also been printed and circulated free by this "mis-information

6 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

officer" of the Government of India. The British Information Services have, of course, their separate mailing lists which run into hundreds of thousands of names. Selected material on India, some of it based on Hennessy's guidance notes, and other releases, are frequently issued by the B.I.S.

OVER COCKTAILS

Much of the propaganda is arranged and carried on through personal contacts, correspondence, informal talks to select influential groups, besides the usual means of the radio, public meetings, etc. An endless stream of high-power propagandists flows from England every week by air and sea. They are sent round the country on schedules arranged in advance by the secret department of the British Information Services and the numerous British consulates scattered throughout America. These propagandists, who include members of the British Cabinet, make public speeches, give information talks, and try in every possible way to convince important groups of newspaper men, business men and educationists that Britain has honest intentions of granting freedom to the people of India. Cocktail parties and tea parties at the British Embassy and consulates are specially arranged in honour of these distinguished pro-

pagandists so that newspaper men, college professors, bankers, industrialists and others of influence and high standing, are invited to meet them. Strangely enough, the British are able to play upon an unexplained weakness of a certain class of Americans who get a thrill of superiority and feel proud when invited to a gathering that has as its guest of honour Lord or Lady So-and-So.

This is strengthened further by international marriages between the daughters of wealthy Americans and not-so-wealthy Europeans who are either 'pseudo' or can rightly boast of "noble blood-streams." This has often been the cause of unfavourable comment and criticism in the United States. It is difficult to understand why the Americans, who are so democratic by nature, should be so easily influenced by glamorous titles. Nevertheless, the fact remains that many American journalists are easily influenced by men like Lord Halifax.

Sir Frederick Puckle and Mr. Bozman, the new Information Secretary of the Government of India, who recently came on a visit, met some important newspapermen of influence at cocktail parties and other functions in the larger cities, and even in smaller towns with a population of 10,000 or so, and did their best—or worst—to prejudice their minds against India's cause for

8 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

freedom. It is a sorry fact that some American editors, who were friends of India, were "won over" to the other side by British propaganda. There was, for instance, an editorial in the well-known paper, *The Nation*, which was reprinted and widely circulated by Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai's office in Washington.

THE 'BRAVE' TEN THOUSAND

It is officially estimated that there are about 10,000 'British' propagandists in the United States who are devoting their time exclusively to India. They may be classified as follows:

1. British officials numbering some 3,000, whose work is to indirectly influence public opinion in England's favour on the question of India's freedom.

2. Many British citizens, who are not yet "naturalized" in America but who have 'settled' in that country. Many of them hold important positions in the Universities, business organizations, churches, societies, newspaper offices, etc. They number 2,000 or more.

3. Britishers who have become naturalized citizens of America during the past five to 25 years, with the sole purpose and intention of infiltrating into American institutions and administrative and educational groups. They continue to stress the necessity for the British to

continue their rule in India. It is estimated that since 1929 over 300 British economists, professors, business experts and other specially trained and educated Britishers have come to America and settled there as American citizens. These are often referred to as "Beaverbrook's Bright Boys" as it was originally Lord Beaverbrook's bright idea to send these men to America to capture key positions in the various walks of life. Many of them today are holding high and influential positions in the Universities, business and social organizations and even in the American Government. It is sufficient to say that practically every department of the United States Government has one or more of these ex-Britishers "planted" in key positions, and among those in this group who are actively carrying on anti-Indian propaganda are a thousand or more.

4. Pro-British Americans, about 4,000. These are people with British associations and sympathies due to social, financial or family relationships, business interests and educational background (*e.g.*, Rhodes Scholarships), etc. Many of these are American Missionaries who have been in India and have been won over by the British through special favours such as *Kai-sar-i-Hind* medals, pats on the back by Governors and other high officials. The nature of the

10 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

propaganda carried on by members of this group seems to be of a particularly vicious type.

AT VICEROY'S HOUSE

I shall mention a few instances :

1. Mr. and Mrs. Peter Muir were imported to India as honoured guests of the Viceroy, Governors and ruling Princes in 1942. They enjoyed our hospitality for 15 months, then brought out a book, packed with poisonous propaganda, entitled "This Is India." Mr. Muir was an employee of the British Government during the first world war. He was regarded as a very safe American who could be relied upon to write a book against India. He stayed in India from March 1942 to the middle of 1943. The manuscript of his book was revised, checked up, re-written and re-hashed in the United States by the B.I.S. The B.I.S. and its Indian appendage purchased 30,000 copies of his book for free distribution, labelled, "with the compliments of the publishers," who never knew where the copies were sent or actually mailed by the above two agencies.

2. Postwheller has brought out a book entitled "India Against the Storm." He was a diplomat in the American Consulate in India and was taken over by the British. He was given a "doctorate" by an Indian University and

then 'won over' to write this book. Prepared reviews of this book were sent by the B.I.S. to various newspapers. This book was also distributed "with the compliments of the author," under the publisher's label, all over America.

STATE DEPARTMENT'S "NO"

Attempts at dispatching certain Americans to India were recently made by the British Ministry of Information :

1. Mr. Archer, a Professor of the Yale University, who was in India for 19 years, was recently requested to go back to India. Lord Halifax took a personal interest in this matter. Mr. Archer, however, was discouraged by the U. S. Government and his trip did not materialize because the Government felt that his trip to India would harm the reputation of the American people in India. So the plan to plant an "independent" American observer in India failed. It is reported that Lord Halifax took the matter up with the higher authorities, but failed to make them change their minds.

2. The British Ministry of Information arranged to send a certain American photographer to India to bring back films for use in the United States. This photographer applied for a passport, but his application was turned down, no doubt for similar reasons.

12 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

3. A Negro lawyer was also similarly invited as an honoured guest by the British Government to visit India, but so far he has not been able to get a passport from the U.S. Government.

The American Government seem to be much wiser than the American newspapermen, some of whom easily fall into the trap of the British Ministry of Information. Among the leading U. S. journalists who are openly championing the cause of British Imperialism in the American Press are Walter Lippman, Dorothy Thompson, Major Fielding Elliott, Phillip Simms, Waverly Root, and Barnet Nover.

These American journalists have personal relations with high British officials, and are occasionally guests of honour, but the vast majority of the American newspapers are openly for India's freedom and the writers mentioned have miserably failed to prejudice American opinion against India.

"Britain can't fool us," is the common remark on American lips, when you discuss the question of India with Americans, and the average American strongly resents and hates the propaganda that the British carry on against India.

CHAPTER II

CLUMSY PROPAGANDA

Independence of India would retard victory.

* * * * *

“Gandhi offers no constructive programme for India”.

* * * * *

“Gandhi’s fast would only help Japan.”

* * * * *

“Gandhi for all practical purposes is the Congress Party”—BRITISH CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR.

* * * * *

*Gandhi is not all India nor all his party—
T. A. RAMAN.*

* * * * *

“All Propaganda is generally false but British propaganda is most clumsy and ridiculous”—A MEMBER OF LORD LINLITHGOW’S CABINET.

* * * * *

While the heart of the U. S., the country of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, is hundred per cent for India’s freedom, there is no dearth of persons in that country who can be made to disparage India. Most of them are persons of British blood and affiliation with Bri-

14 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

tish imperialism. Some of them are simply attracted by the almighty dollar.

Most of the articles are written by editors who, originally British, have become American citizens, like the Chief Editor of the 'Washington Post', while others are published in papers like the 'New York Times', which, as everyone knows in the States, is a particular ally of the British Foreign Office. The largest number of anti-Indian writings are contributed to American papers by 'subsidized' American Missionaries, who have enjoyed British hospitality, British honours, titles and bounties during their stay in India. The British also have their own chain of letter-writers whose job is to write 'Letters to the Editor' in different States arguing against Indian independence.

Here is a typical letter from a British propagandist in the 'New York Herald-Tribune':—

"Mr. Gandhi offers no constructive programme for India, while demanding to be released at once from a Government which has given India the only forward impetus she has had for two thousand years. It is not too much to say that the only constructive benefits to India so far have come through the Christian Church and the British Empire.

"Mr. Gandhi did not have any love for untouchables until he found that the constitution

provided for them a certain number of votes. Then his heart warmed up to them considerably."

BANKERS TO THE RESCUE

The Royal Bank of Canada, in a four-page publication on India issued in December 1943, at the expense of either the Indian tax-payer, or the British Information Office, stated: "Uninformed or partisan statements have given a distorted image of India as a place of down-trodden humanity. As a matter of fact, *India has been ahead in the world in many of the basic freedoms.*"

This publication tried to impress the Americans that India is a paradise from the industrial viewpoint and Indian business men are harvesting huge profits from the war. It also told Americans that the British had checked the perpetual famine in India, when ironically enough in the same winter one million Indians were dying of starvation in the province of Bengal alone. Probably the President of the Royal Bank of Canada did not read any papers of his own country which prominently featured the Canadian Government's offer of wheat to famine-stricken Bengal.

16 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

AND MISSIONARIES TOO

British propaganda authorities in Washington, persuaded the well-known Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to issue an eight-page publication in their *Information Service*, a weekly bulletin. In this issue, one finds the following remark against the Indian National Congress :

"Its internal organization is considered to be far from democratic, with controls in the hands of a very small clique. Its interest in Parliamentary Government is thought to depend on its own retention as the best organized party, or a more or less permanent majority. By the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, the Depressed Classes and the Independent Labour it is accused of aiming to make itself 'the only party in the land' as is the case in Fascist and Nazi regimes —a result which would be a death-blow to democracy."

This missionary publication was also sent out in hundreds of thousands by the British Information Service to all parts of the States. An interesting quotation in this publication stated that Congressmen were fed up with Gandhi's non-violence and as a result the Congress membership had dropped by 30 lakhs since 1938-39.

INDIA ABOVE FOUR FREEDOMS

The following gems are from a publication entitled "Four Freedoms in India," issued by B. I. S :—

'The betrayal of Indian democracy is a betrayal of the cause of the United Nations,' said an American editorial recently.

'India's masses demand freedom,' said another.

'What are the hopes and fears of Indian democracy and what part is it playing in the world conflict between the democracies and the dictators ?

'No Government can maintain its existence without the support of the people and still less in the face of their active opposition.'

'There is little evidence of conflict between the Government of India and the Indian peasantry and workers who constitute over 90 per cent of India's 389,000,000.

'Far behind the few hundred thousand active members of the Congress and other parties who are politically-minded, stand the masses of the cultivators and workmen who are interested not in politics but in their crops, and, once the day's work is over, in the goings of their neighbours in a circle of five miles around.'

18 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

'The politically-minded are essentially the urban intelligentsia.

'Defining a town as a unit with a population of 4,000 and upwards and assuming as one must in India, that women and children below 15 years are not interested in politics, the 1931 census showed : 13,500,000 male Hindus living in towns ; 5,800,000 male Muslims living in towns.

'This gives a rough total of 20,000,000.

'As the population as a whole has increased 15 per cent since the 1931 census, we may assume that some 23,000,000 people in India are potentially politically-minded.

'This leaves some 366,000,000 who are not.'

'This may or may not be a regrettable fact but it is not one which originated with the British occupancy of India ; throughout India's history kings and conquerors have come and gone, armies have fought and bled, while the peasantry has gone about its daily tasks. The ruling and the fighting was done by the priestly and warrior castes, not by the people.'

'During the political disturbances of August and September, the cultivator went on ploughing his field around his quiet village and the workman went on at his lathe.'

'What is the force that holds the Government of India and the mass of the Indian people together ?

'The Atlantic Charter guarantees four freedoms to the world of the post-war future.

'Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Religion, Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want.

'It may be necessary to promise the first three of these freedoms to other countries, but India has already been enjoying them for over a hundred years.

'*Freedom of Speech.* Having little persistent interest in politics, the peasant's great object is to have his say in the matters of crops, irrigation, land revenue and the general welfare of his village. One has only to go through the records of the district officers and the numerous petitions to the commissioners, to provincial governments and to the Governors, to see how freely the people exercise the right of free speech and to see how prompt has been governmental action in response.

'*Freedom from Fear.* This is closely coupled with freedom of speech, and with the absence of threats of invasion. During the last 150 years, the tiller of the soil has experienced no invasion, has been protected from criminal and lawless elements, and has enjoyed the fruits of peace and stable government.

20 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

'Freedom from Want. This is an ideal *not* attained by any country in the world hitherto. All Governments have made varying efforts to secure it for their people, the Government of India far from least.

'Floods, drought and pestilence (none of which are political in origin) bring fear of want to India's masses.'

While in this essay British propaganda tried to prove that very few Indians were interested in politics and that their interest was solely confined to a radius of five miles from their village, in another circular they told the American people that the Indian farmers and labourers knew all about the designs of Hitler and Tojo and that they occasionally burnt the effigies of both.

GANDHIJI'S FAST

In another confidential publication entitled *Why is Gandhi fasting?* British propaganda told the Americans that Gandhi's fast would only help the Japanese. The publicity for Gandhi's fast could not help the freedom of India. His fast was likely to lead to disturbances. He doubtless hopes that his picturesque paraphernalia of goat's milk and loin-cloth will attract its usual headlines in the outside world and thus renew attention to the Congress Party's demand

for independence. If publicists devote columns to his fast, Gandhi will have attained his first objective. The author of this clumsy propaganda first claimed that the fast would not help the freedom of India and then within five lines contradicts himself by admitting that it would "renew attention to the Congress Party's demand for independence."

In defence of the British refusal to Indianize the Viceroy's Executive Council, propaganda agents told Americans: "As long as there are in the Executive Council four British members who can be relied on to treat communal issues on their merits, the actual representation of Indian parties and interests in the Council is a question of minor importance; remove the British members and the question at once assumes major importance."

LOSS OF FACE

"Why did the Viceroy refuse to allow Rajagopalachari to see Gandhi?" was the text of another bright confidential publication sent out for the use of British propagandists in America. Among the reasons given were :

'There is no evidence that Jinnah has requested Rajagopalachari to see Gandhi with a view to a compromise, the evidence of Jinnah's recent declarations points the other way.'

22 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

'Sporadic incidents in the civil disobedience movement still continue and public opinion, especially Muslim opinion, associates these incidents with the Congress Party.

'Gandhi for all practical purposes is the Congress Party ; the Party has never once in the long run succeeded in any attempt to act against Gandhi's wishes.

'Permission to interview Gandhi would at once be taken in India to mean that Government was beaten and considering negotiations with the Congress Party. No Western country can appreciate the significance of loss of face in an Asiatic country.

"Those in self-proclaimed open rebellion' would, just at a moment when their movement was at its lowest ebb, receive tremendous encouragement ; they would believe at once that their violence had succeeded and that 'just a little more' was all that was needed to win through. The movement would be rekindled. The Muslims and other minorities and the overwhelming mass of India which are standing aloof from the disobedience movement and which looks to Government for law, order and the prosecution to victory of the war against the Axis would be consternated.

'Don't forget that to recognize the Congress Party's claim to speak for the whole of India,

and allow them to form a Government without agreement with the other parties, would mean that British bayonets would be required to keep the Congress Party Government in office.'

WHY NO GANDHI-JINNAH INTERVIEW

In a confidential circular entitled, *Should Gandhi be allowed to see Jinnah*. British propaganda, even as late as May 26, 1943, told the Americans that Gandhi had not condemned the disturbances ; had this disobedience secured the support of the Indian people and had they been successful a Japanese occupation of India would have followed. The truth was that Gandhiji had condemned the disturbances as early as September 1942 and yet after eight months the Mahatma was being painted as a supporter of violence.

The circular went on to say :

'To permit Mr. Gandhi to write to Mr. Jinnah would be to start a claim which could only in the end release the detained leaders without any assurance and at a time when their sabotage move was dead.

'A letter to Mr. Jinnah would be likely to be followed by a request on plausible ground for Mr. Gandhi to consult his other detained colleagues on receipt of the answer. He might say that he could only open discussion for a

24 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

settlement' as a free man and there would then follow an agitation for the release of the whole group. The party leaders would then have been unconditionally set free without renunciation of their programme and civil disobedience movement revivified.

'The real issue is far wider than the question of facilities for discussion between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi. In reality the interests not only of the defence of India but of victory for the United Nations are at stake and the Government of India could not take a step which could seriously injure the successful prosecution of the war.'

JINNAH'S WINDOW-DRESSING

British propaganda in defence of their attitude in refusing to deliver Gandhi's letter to Mr. Jinnah said: "Mr. Jinnah's recent suggestion that Mr. Gandhi should open negotiations was political window-dressing on Mr. Jinnah's part since he could foresee that the Government of India would never allow it and that he would in fact be called upon to face the hazards of negotiation."

LIKE THE U. S. !

In yet another ridiculous news release the imperial propaganda machine told Americans

that the Governments in the N.-W. F. Province and Assam, etc., "have approximately the same powers as a State of the United States." A well-informed commentator who knew that the Government in the Frontier Province was a Government of the minority party, while a number of members of the majority party, Congress, were held in detention, told me in Detroit: "The British are very anxious to pretend that they have established a democratic Government in the Frontier Province, but how on earth do they compare it to that of a State in the United States? In our country there is not a single instance of a minority Government forced on the majority kept behind prison bars." This publication had the following headlines:—

1. 115,000,000 Indians govern themselves.
2. Provincial autonomy at work in six provinces.
3. Significance of N.-W. F. Province's return to popularly elected ministry.

RETARDING VICTORY !

An interesting but insidious confidential circular to British propagandists in America with the caption *Will Independence hasten or retard victory?* stated: "If acting under well-intentioned but uninformed outside pressure, the British Government were to support a political

settlement which was denounced as a betrayal of Muslim, or Sikh, or Hindu rights, this would be followed by communal bloodshed on a serious scale which could not but create a serious conflict of loyalties in the minds of large numbers of the Indian Army, today numbering over 1,500,000 volunteers and increasing at the rate of 70,000 men a month.

'The relations between men who should be comrades in arms would be seriously strained and they would always be despondently wondering what was happening to their families back in their village. The Army might either become unreliable or melt away to its villages.

'Thus any political settlement imposed from the outside against the wishes of any leading Indian party might put out of the war one of the United Nations' most powerful and proven Armies. Would that hasten victory ?'

THAT 'NO' TO PHILLIPS

'In their defence of their refusal to permit William Phillips to see Mahatma Gandhi, British propaganda told Americans : "The Government of India is anxious to do nothing which would damp the enthusiasm of all those wide and powerful sections of India which are giving such splendid co-operation in the war effort.

'In the eyes of these sections, at least one

preliminary is necessary before negotiations can be opened with Mr. Gandhi, namely that Mr. Gandhi should disown last year's acts of violence and terrorism.

'Negotiations opened without this preliminary would be regarded as a victory for their instigators.'

This lame excuse was invented despite the fact that, as already pointed out, the Mahatma had strongly condemned violence eight months before Mr. Phillips was refused the interview. I refer to Gandhiji's letter of September 23, 1942 to Lord Linlithgow, against the suppression of which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Rajagopalachari had protested.

CHAPTER III

A NOBEL PRIZE ESSAY

*"If the Muslims have a right to be in India,
the British have also"*—BRITISH PROPAGANDA
GEM.

* * * * *

*"Every Englishman today fully subscribes
to the ideology which lays down that it is wrong
or one race to rule another against its will"*—
ESSENTIALS OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

* * * * *

*"British traders and soldiers acquired India
between 1600 and 1857 ; the conception that the
conquest or rule of one race by another was wrong,
did not then exist"*—BRITISH APOLOGIA ISSUED
TO AMERICANS.

* * * * *

No argument is too ridiculous to bluff the Americans about India. What are the essentials of the Indian problem ? Indians would say, the need for early freedom, internal peace, etc. Most Americans would say the same. But the British in America have to save face, save their prestige, save their privileges. The result is that they over-reach themselves in their apologia for their continued occupation of India.

Such an apologia was issued in the U. S. some time ago. The publication covers twelve foolscap, single-spaced, pages and is entitled, *Essentials of the Indian problem*. It makes two astounding claims. One is : "If the Muslims have the right to be in India, the British have also." After five lines follows the naive declaration . "Every Englishman today fully subscribes to the ideology which lays down that it is wrong for one race to rule another against its will." No British spokesman has ever made this confession on the floor of the Indian Legislature, nor have any of the numerous declarations and proclamations made on behalf of the British Government ever whispered a word of this sentiment. But necessity knows no limits--in America. Here are passages of abiding interest :

IF INDIANS RULED EUROPE !

'One way to understand the general situation in India is to take an analogy, with the caution that no analogy should be pressed too far.

'Let us imagine that Indian traders found it profitable to set up trading stations in Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; Italy throughout that period was constantly in the throes of warfare between the innumerable States into which it was divided ; since Europe

as a whole owed a vague suzerainty to the Holy Roman Emperor the Indian traders duly sought his protection and secured licences to trade from him. The Indian traders found the Emperor unable to protect them and their trade was frequently interrupted by local warfare, so that they were led to fortify their factories which they defended with Indian soldiers ; the neighbouring Italian States soon learned the fighting value of these Indian soldiers and in some cases began to enlist their services as allies ; in the event of victory greater trading facilities were granted or territorial requisitions were made, in addition to which the Indian traders learned that there were other benefits to be obtained by acquiring actual territorial possessions rather than more trading rights.

To telescope a long story, the Indians who first came to trade became embroiled in European politics and in the course of time they became one of the European military powers—in the end the paramount power—this, let us say, by 1857.

'Let us imagine, the whole of the European continent ruled by a foreign Indian Government since 1857 ; what would have been the effects on Europe.

'In the first place, there would have been no war between Prussia and Austria in 1866 ; no Franco-Prussian war of 1870 ; no Balkan

War ; no Great War of 1914-18 ; and no Second World War of 1939.

"GIFT" OF COMMON LANGUAGE

The Indians (whom we imagine to have conquered Europe) formed a central administration which required a large Civil Service and although at first the higher positions were reserved for Indians, from the beginning thousands of secondary positions gave employment to Europeans. As the Indian administration was conducted in Hindustani, all Europeans desirous of government employment had to learn this language ; Indian trading houses which came over in ever greater numbers and established business up and down the Continent from Cracow to Barcelona conducted their work in Hindustani, which thus became the common language for virtually all educated Europeans, so that for the first time Finns in the north could converse freely with Spaniards in the south, and French in the west could converse freely with Bulgarians in the east.

The Indians invested large sums in developing European products and they established freedom of trade throughout this great area ; they built roads, canals and railroads where none had been before.

'What would the consequences have been if this picture were real and not imaginary ?

'Surely that as time went on the diverse races of Europe—the Rumanians, Turks, Greeks, Portuguese, Swedes, Estonians, Germans and French—would have begun to think of themselves less as Rumanians, Turks, Greeks, Portuguese, etc., and more and more as Europeans; they would for the first time have begun to consider their affairs from the viewpoint of Europe as a whole; once this idea had begun to establish itself, parallel with it would have come the consciousness of the difference of their civilization from that of their foreign rulers, the Indians.

'A European Nationalist Movement would have been born. Agitation for a greater share of Europeans in the Indian administration would have been followed by demands for an equal status for Europe in the Indian Empire.

HOW DISPUTES WERE REVIVED

'History suggests that nobody in possession of something readily gives it up. Consequently the agitation would have lasted with growing impetus for many years; but we can imagine the Indians realizing that the strength of the European nationalist demand was growing and that the Indian Empire would be more likely

to survive if it were converted into an Indian Commonwealth of Nations, in which Europe would be a partner. The Indian rulers granted various constitutional reforms, recruited up to fifty per cent of the higher civil servants from the Europeans, and finally committed themselves to Dominion Status for Europe.

"As soon as the Europeans realized that home rule was not some distant ideal but might be expected within a few years, some of their old animosities began to revive ; the French, for example, disliked the idea of being numerically in the position of a minority to their traditional enemy the Germans, within the framework of government with democratic majority rule ; other minorities also asked for safeguards ; friends of the foreign Indian Government maintained that as long as the quarrels between the Europeans over minority safeguards continued, the Indians could not grant them Dominion status ; critics of the Indian Government maintained that they took advantage of these divisions to continue autocratic rule undisturbed.

"This analogy, if not pressed too closely, gives a broad picture of the situation in India."

WHAT THE BRITISH DID

"British traders who went to India established their factories under licences from the

34 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

Moghal Emperor, they sought his protection ; found it of no avail : and fortified their factories. They became embroiled in Indian politics, and eventually became the paramount power in the continent. Before the pressure of Indian nationalist opinion, the British conceded reforms, which beginning modestly, culminated in the Government of India Act of 1935, the first part of which came into force in 1937. The federation of British India with the Indian States—the second part of the Act—was delayed by almost universal objections to it. The Act reserved seats in the Central Legislature for minorities and while orthodox Hindus would have got the biggest single representation, they would have had to form a coalition government with one or other of the minorities ; this they considered unfair ; the Muslims, on the other hand, objected because they thought their interests were inadequately safeguarded. Further action to carry out this part of the Act was shelved for the duration of the war."

BLESSINGS OF BRITISH PEACE !

"In the world today, Britain is frequently called upon to justify her position in India. The fundamental justification for the presence of the British in India is not the benefits in the way of commercial and industrial development, irri-

gation, roads, railways, etc., conferred on India ; nor can it be claimed that the blessings of British peace constitute an ultimate justification for the British in India ; these benefits are undoubtedly and must be taken into account in estimating what Britain has done in India ; for example, India's 62,000,000 artificially irrigated acres cover the biggest artificially irrigated system in the world ; her 42,000 miles of railroads form the biggest railroad system in Asia and the third biggest in the world—only the American and Russian systems take precedence ; these facts must be taken into account, but if they are made the fundamental justification, they are open to the fair comment that capital was not invested, irrigation works were not established and roads were not built by British philanthropists simply for the benefit of the poor Indians—they gave a financial return.

"The fundamental justification for the presence of the British in India must be sought in the facts of history.

"The British conquered India by force ; this irrefutable fact cannot be slurred over ; in the course of the last 30 years or so an ideology has been developed which maintains that it is wrong for one nation to conquer another, or for one race to rule another ; few people today quarrel

36 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

with this view ; but it cannot be applied to those British traders and soldiers who acquired India between 1600 and 1857 ; the conception that the conquest or rule of one race by another was wrong did not then exist and would have been incomprehensible ; these British traders and soldiers merely did to India what the Hellenes did to Greece, the Romans to Europe, the Anglo-Saxons to England, the Normans to the Anglo-Saxons, and the Muslims to India. Nobody dreams of attributing moral blame to the Hellenes, Normans, Anglo-Saxons and Muslims.

"If the Muslims have a right to be in India the British have also. In times when the right of the conqueror was disputed by no one, the British conquered India. Any defence of the British position in India must, therefore, start from the historical fact that they have been in India some 300 years.

"The British Government and every Englishman today fully subscribes to the ideology which lays down that it is wrong for one race to rule another against its will, and the British Government is committed irrevocably to recognizing any constitution, carrying with it complete independence if desired, drawn up by Indians without outside interference as soon as the war is won."

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN "STOOGES"

"I have not read any of the (*Propaganda*) books, I merely sign the bills"—SIR GIRJA SHANKER BAJPAI IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE AUTHOR IN WASHINGTON D. C.

* * * *

"Bengalis have always been dying of famine, there is nothing new in the famine situation"—BAJPAI TOLD HIS COUNTRYMEN.

* * * *

I asked Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, Indian Government's Agent-General in the United States of America, how a man of his talent and culture could agree to publish books and leaflets against Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress. He replied very politely : "I have not read any of the books, nor do I scrutinize any propaganda material. I merely sign the bills." The readers can very well judge this former member of the Governor-General's Executive Council protesting his innocence. Is he paid only to sign ? Why does he sign ?

Under Bajpai's direct supervision, thousands of pages of poisonous propaganda against India

and her leaders have been published at the cost of the Indian tax-payer. The strong and natural anti-Japanese feeling in America is exploited to describe Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders as defeatists and agents of Japan. The least bit of criticism appearing in any obscure paper in India is eagerly picked up and purveyed to American readers by means of hundreds of thousands of leaflets for the sole purpose of discrediting Gandhiji and the Congress. This is the special responsibility of the department over which Bajpai presides. The air mail brings an unending stream of the right stuff from India where a huge "Information" department is maintained for the purpose. The air mail reaches in a matter of a week.

What is more, copies of anti-Gandhi and anti-Congress newspapers are regularly flown out to America from India and there distributed gratis to a special list of business men, politicians and journalists whose opinion it may be important to cultivate! They also go to the State Department. I myself saw several copies of a journal which is of no significance in India (and no circulation either) in shelves known as the "India Desk" of the State Department. When I asked where they had come from, I was told that they were part of the literature which was lavished upon the Department by Bajpai and Co.

Needless to say, the journal is known for its anti-Gandhi proclivity.

MORE THAN THE PRESIDENT ?

Bajpai's crowning achievement during his regime has been his visit to Canada. There he told the Canadian Prime Minister that there was no food shortage in India and that Indian hoarders were responsible for the famine ; otherwise there was plenty of food in India. He is said to have successfully persuaded the Canadian Government to withdraw its generous food offer to India.

At a meeting of Punjabi farmers held in California he declared that Bengalis had always been dying of famine and there was nothing new or unusual about the famine situation in Bengal. He was hooted and had to leave the meeting.

*India pays Bajpai a sum of 52,000 dollars (nearly two lakhs of rupees) for this kind of work for his country. His salary is free of income-tax. The President of the United States, however, receives only 48,000 dollars. Bajpai has one of the biggest palatial residences in Washington and hundreds of thousands of rupees are spent annually in entertaining British and American "friends" of Britain to sumptuous tea parties, usually held in honour of congenial

*This includes his allowances.

visitors from India, like the Sarma party. While the Indian tax-payer pays for these entertainments, "Indian residents in Washington are seldom invited to these parties.

The Bajpais on their arrival in Washington were advertised in the *Washington Daily News* of July 20, 1942, as owners of a palace near Calcutta. The paper said :

"Sir Girja Shanker is a wealthy man even for India ; his home is considered as one of the finest. In their gardens in India there are 50,000 magnificent rose-bushes, there are acres of lilies. I have been told that the perfume of those gardens in full bloom is something which might have inspired 'Omar Khayyam.' Visitors to Calcutta must include this dreamland in their sight-seeing programme in future."

THIRULINGAM RAMANUJAM !

Bajpai's understudy, T. A. Raman, whose full name is Thirulingam Ramanujam, is the official head of the Indian Information Bureau, established to counteract the truth about India. Raman, while a student in England, is said to have failed to receive financial support from his parents and had to live occasionally on doles from fellow students. He took up a job to report on the activities of Indian students in Britain. He was sent to France, but had to flee from the

wrath of some Indian students in Paris who knew all about him. He was then sent to the United States of America on behalf of the B. I. S., but under the garb of a "staunch Indian nationalist journalist whose journalism is unimpeachable for its accuracy and fair-mindedness." (This appears on the cover of his notorious book, *What Does Gandhi Want?*)

He was later sent in 1942, on some special mission to India with a diplomatic passport *via* the Pacific. In Hong Kong, Singapore and other British possessions he was officially entertained and taken care of. In India his tour was planned and paid for by the Bureau of Public Information. He always travelled first-class and stayed at the costliest hotels. Raman gave out that he had come to India on behalf of an American newspaper alliance, but the fact is that he never sent a single Press message to any newspaper during all the months that he spent in India. No such newspaper alliance has been heard of.

LIES AND LIBELS

On return to the United States, Raman published two books *What Does Gandhi Want?* and *A Report on India*. These books were published by B. I. S., but this fact was nowhere acknowledged in the publication. They were said to

42 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

have been written in the India Office in London and revised by Miss Harrington of B. I. S. in New York and by Mr. Hennessy. The first book is a collection of garbled extracts from *Harijan*, and indulges in mud-slinging at Mahatma Gandhi. A hundred and twenty-five thousand copies of this book were distributed free in the United States of America. If the publication was an independent one and not British propaganda, Raman by himself could not have done it.

The very jacket of the book betrays the racket. It says: "No one is better able to give us the answer to these questions (about Mahatma Gandhi) than the brilliant Indian journalist, T. A. Raman, at one time with Gandhi as one of his *entourage* and one of the leading journalists of India." It adds: "Raman joined Gandhi's staff at the Round Table Conference; thereafter he was constantly in touch with Gandhi and other Indian leaders, following them to India, where he became a close associate of Gandhi. It was Mr. Raman, who persuaded Gandhi to make his first and only gramophone record."

I knew that the above passages contained as many lies as there are words in it. But I have, since my return from America, made further verification from those who were on Mahatma Gandhi's staff in London during the

Round Table Conference in 1932, and who are still in close touch with him. Here are the facts. No one regards Raman either as a brilliant or leading journalist. He was never in Gandhiji's *entourage*. He was already in London when Gandhiji went there for the Round Table Conference, but he did not join his staff even for a day. He tried to associate himself with the staff, but made no headway. The reference to the gramophone record is a piece of remarkable audacity, because he nearly came to grief over it. I have the facts first hand. He made persistent efforts to get Gandhiji to speak for a gramophone record. Gandhiji was reluctant. But the staff arranged with Raman for a royalty which was to be devoted to some public constructive activity in India. Gandhiji was prevailed upon to spare time to make the record, and the famous talk on "God" was the result. Thereafter Raman became increasingly scarce at the Gandhi Camp in London. Whenever he was asked to produce a written document from his principals about the royalty, he would plead excuses. Finally, when matters reached the point of exasperation, he produced a letter stating that a royalty would be payable on sales in India. A racket rehearsal! All the sales in America and other countries were excluded. Raman had won. Gandhiji, when ap-

44 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

proached, said he did not care to pursue the matter. Raman bid Gandhiji good-bye for ever after that. But no wonder the jacket of the book proclaims him the highest authority on Gandhiji.

WHOSE COMPLIMENTS

Copies of the two books were not allowed to reach India, but they were sent by air to the British Ambassador in China for free distribution in that country. Many copies of both these books were sent out "with the author's compliments." They were indubitably sent from the British and India Information offices in Washington, but under a cover wearing the publishers' name and address :

Here are some specimens from Raman's book, *What Does Gandhi Want?*

"Sir Stafford Cripps detected a tendency in the public to gloat over Japanese successes."

"Gandhi's statements about China have never had the fervour of Nehru's and Rajagopalachariar's. That should largely be attributed to the difference, that Gandhi does not feel the warm glow of admiration that most of us feel for China's epic resistance. Gandhi who praised Petain for surrendering does not thrill to heroism like that."

"Gandhi, through the columns of *Harijan*, played up every petty grievance, trumped up every half-true complaint and branded them as sinister evidence of imperialism; e.g., the commanding of river boats, etc."

"Gandhi is not all India or even 'all his party'."

Finally, Rishi Raman can also quote scriptures. He sermonizes:—

"And Indians who want their country to be free and, therefore, are determined that this war shall be won, must reconcile themselves to a final break with Gandhian perversions of their country's policies during the war. Their consolation for opposition to one who has done so much for the nation will be the words of the Blessed Lord Krishna, words which apply exactly to Gandhi today—

*"When thy mind shall escape from this tangle
of delusion,*

*Then wilt thou rise to indifference as to what
has been heard and will be heard."*

AMERICANS SPOT HIM

All this time Raman was ostensibly working as a staunch Indian nationalist. Then how did the Information offices come to take interest in

46 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

the free distribution of his books ? Even after the publication of his books Raman went on touring the United States as an 'independent' lecturer, but was hooted everywhere by American audiences. At a debate between Dr. Anup Singh, Secretary of the National Committee for India's Freedom, and Raman, an American lady asked Dr. Anup Singh : "Is it a fact Raman is a British agent ?" Anup Singh replied : "Why not ask Raman ?" The lady thereupon asked Raman : "Are you in the pay of the British ?" Raman replied : "No, they simply sponsor my lectures." The lady laughed and said : "That is all I wanted to know. You don't represent your country."

On another occasion a lady rang up the Indian Information Office and asked a secretary if Raman was employed by them. Prompt the answer came : "Oh yes, he is."

When the secret became well known, Raman was openly employed in the Indian Information Office as its head and was registered as a propaganda agent, according to the rules of the U. S. Government. His appointment, however, was kept a close secret in India for six months. Now Raman has lost face.

R. S. SARMA AND THE REST

In the last three years no less than 30 propa-

gandists, including the Sarma Mission and various army and navy officers, have been taken to the U. S. A. to present the British and Indian Government angles to Americans. Sir R. S. Sarma, who met me in Egypt in April, 1944, on his return from the United States, confessed to me personally that the Americans were so well-informed about British rule in India that no British or Indian propagandist could fool them. These people merely make a laughing stock of themselves.

A radio programme manager in a mid-west American town told me that H. G. Misra, a member of the Sarma Mission, was sponsored by the British (at the Indian tax-payer's expense) to speak from his station. The radio manager, out of his sympathy for India, thrice asked him, 'What does India want?' so that the American audience might know of India's aspirations for independence. But Misra simply replied : "India wants to help the war effort." This radio manager told me that he gave three opportunities to Misra to say that India wanted independence, but Misra had not the courage to say so. He concluded : "I could not put the words into his mouth."

I attach no significance to British propaganda in America, and especially that carried on by the Indian 'quislings,' but I feel it my duty to

48 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

ask the members of the Central Legislature and the Indian Press to protest strongly against the waste of millions of the Indian tax-payer's money for defaming India. Britain spends four crores of rupees annually to defame us in America. Let her also run the Indian Agency at her own cost. Why should India pay for it ?

CHAPTER V

KATHERINE MAYO TO WALTER LIPPMAN

"The programme of Gandhi and Congress follows a reported conference at Rangoon between representative Hindus and Japanese agents."—
WASHINGTON POST.

* * * * *

"Gandhi is for non-violence and creates violence. Gandhi is for the victory of Russia and China and strengthens Japan and Germany."—DOROTHY THOMPSON.

* * * * *

"The problem of India is how the separate peoples of India can both be independent and united. This is a problem which the separate people of Europe have never been able to solve though they are politically more experienced than the Indians. No one has found a way to give the peoples of Europe self-determination and independence and at the same time to unite them in one European commonwealth."—WALTER LIPPMAN.

* * * * *

"You can't sell rails or Ford cars to an

50 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

Anarchy. Pittsburgh and Detroit, which sell them to India under British rule, might think about that. Anybody (in America) who imports raw materials from India or exports manufactured goods there might think about it."—BRITISH ADVICE TO AMERICANS.

* * * * *

Katherine Mayo is unforgettable as a black-mailer. She was the greatest modern defamer of India. But she was only the first of a long line of successors and the line has never ended. Some of the present-day American propagandists are more elegant than Miss Mayo, some as crude, all are either drain inspectors or distorters of truth.

One can easily find out the professional nature of this propaganda from the vile lies that they circulate against India. Here are some specimens:—

"The programme of Gandhi and Congress follows a reported Conference at Rangoon between representative Hindus and Japanese agents and the whole movement, doubtless, is being engineered from Tokyo."

"Britain is a country that has never shirked her duty to humanity. *She has done more for civilization and democracy than every other country on the face of the globe combined. Nine-tenths of the worth-while things in America we owe to Britain.*"

ONLY 500 BRITISH OFFICIALS

"The fact is that less than 500 British are in the entire civil government of India, Indians having replaced Britons wherever practicable."

While the writer says that there are only 500 British civilian officers in India, Raman, the official propagandist of the British Government in a speech at New York on October 15, 1942, admitted that India provided 20,000 jobs to British people of whom 2,500 are in the civil service. This was three years ago. How many thousands of British refugees from Hong-kong, Singapore, Indo-China, Siam, various countries of Europe, how many experts from England and victims of air-raids and relations of British officials in India have found lucrative jobs in India during these four years, nobody knows.

INCITING MUSLIMS

The British editor of *Washington Post* editorially wrote :—

"Here in America we are apt to think that Mohandas K. Gandhi is India. The Mahatma, in fact, is the leader of the Hindu Congress party. And this party, on the last reckoning, numbered less than a per cent of India's population."

"It was as much in deference to Moslem sentiment as to the interests of the United

52 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

Nations that the British insisted on retaining the portfolio of War at New Delhi pending the return of world peace. Certainly the Muslims would not stand for a Hindu in that position. For it is the Muslims, not the Hindus, who provide most of the fighting strength in India, and they would regard themselves as the residuary legatees of the War portfolio."

British propagandists, like this editor, have been telling the Americans that it is the Muslims who form the majority of the Indian army and that, therefore, the British Government cannot bow to the demands of the Congress which might create a mutiny in the Muslim army. The truth is that the Muslims form only 30 per cent of the Indian Army and the Hindus 52 per cent, the rest are Sikhs whose culture and interests are common to the Hindus. This mischievous lie about Muslim preponderance in the Indian Army has been spread in official publications of the British propaganda services.

William Phillip Simms, a notorious British propagandist in U. S., wrote in the *Daily News*, "While the Hindus outnumber the Muslims by two or three to one, the Muslims are a fighting race and could at least hold their own against the passive resisters of Gandhi, Nehru and Azad, even if the Hindus took up arms." This was the declared policy of British propaganda in

KATHERINE MAYO TO WALTER LIPPMAN 53

U. S. during 1942 and 1943, to tell the Americans that the Muslims were dread enemies of Gandhi and the Congress and that civil war in India might break out any day as a result of the Congress movement. Luckily, there was not a single communal riot or hostile Muslim demonstration anywhere in India in the year 1942-43.

Mr. G. D. Birla received his share of malicious British propaganda. The *Washington Daily News* of August 14, 1942, carried the following interesting story :

"Laws freed Birla's slaves. Gandhi's money backer hates British reforms.—The money bags of one of the most important but least publicized men in Asia form a golden backdrop for the Indian independence movement. He is Ghansham Das Birla, a multi-millionaire industrialist described as "A go-getter with a finger in every Indian pie"—and he isn't exactly one of John Bull's best friends. One reason G. D. Birla has a strong distaste for British rule is the factory laws Britain introduced in India. These give the workman some relief from long hours and microscopic wages. Birla employs an army of labour.

"Birla is very close to Gandhi. He has been host to him in his Calcutta palace nearly every time the Mahatma has visited the city. The close tie is further underlined by the fact that

54 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

Gandhi's son, Devadas, is the editor of a great newspaper owned by Birla."

NOT SO SUBTLE

Here is a specimen of the subtlest and most poisonous propaganda by a famous columnist who is an occasional guest of the British Embassy in Washington. Walter Lippman writes in a special article entitled "India" :—

"India is a subject which is as remote from the political experience of all of us in America as Einstein's mathematics are from ordinary arithmetic. For no matter how many times we are told that 'India' is no more a nation than 'Europe' is a nation. It is not long before most of us fall back into talking as if the Hindus of the Congress party are India and Gandhi is the George Washington of the Indian nation demanding independence from King George III."

DOROTHY THOMPSON'S SERMON

Dorothy Thompson, America's ablest woman writer, a great admirer of Churchill, yet claiming to be the friend of subject nations, wrote as follows, on Mahatma Gandhi: "History cares nothing about Mahatma Gandhi's individual life. Mahatma Gandhi's personal purity is no justification for the confusion of his mind. He is for non-violence and creates violence : he is for non-

KATHERINE MAYO TO WATLER LIPPMAN 55

aggression and attracts aggression ; he is for the victory of Russia and China and strengthens Japan and Germany ; he is for the workers all over the world, and aids their enemies. And all because he hates the British Empire ! ”

“Because Mahatma Gandhi is confused, it is not necessary that we become confused. I am for the freedom of India--but not at the cost of the freedom of the rest of the world. And if Mahatma Gandhi is foolish enough to confront his natural allies with that choice, he is bound to receive only one answer ; we have sympathy for India, but we will not commit suicide for her.”

Major Fielding Eliot, famous military commentator and friend of British Imperialism, wrote in an article entitled, “Indian Government takes only action possible in Crisis”, as follows :

“The Congress party is demanding power for themselves...The Government of India has made the only possible choice, and, in that choice, should have the support of all Americans”.

An American supporting British repression in India and the arrest of democrats like Nehru should be ashamed but Miss Mayo’s cousins are shameless.

CLAPPER'S CLAP TRAP

Late Raymond Clapper, well-known Ameri-

56. BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

can journalist, wrote in the *New York World Telegram* as follows :—

“Secretary Hull says that nations will achieve their liberty if they earn it. The Indian Congress party, whatever its purposes, is acting as if it were a friend of Japan.”

Charles Brook Elliott, who claims to be a former member of the India Legislative Assembly from a Madras European constituency, wrote to the *New York Times* as follows :—

“Jinnah has some hundred million adherents, united solidly under one God, one flag, one Koran, one basic language, Arabic. Nehru’s followers, some unknown millions strong, are split up in many ways”.

GANDHI REPRESENTS ONE PER CENT

Defending British rule in India a Washington paper wrote :

“Those who think India should be granted her independence by England have these facts to explain and remedy before they go very far in making their demands :—

India has over 200 languages.

The number of religious creeds is large and they differ in essentials.

The most difficult problem to be solved is that presented by the caste system under which the Indians have lived for centuries and centuries.

KATHERINE MAYO TO WALTER LIPPMAN 57

This caste system is the antithesis of democracy. Caste is regarded as preordained and immutable.

Gandhi and the All-India party represent at most only four million people, a small percentage of four hundred million."

These facts are given by Gen. Sir Walter Venning, Director-General British Ministry of Supply Mission, now in the United States.

This is just one instance of a British official indulging in indirect propaganda against India. In Washington alone there are 3,000 British officials stationed during the war. Everyone of them is a patriot and naturally a propagandist for England and defender of her Imperialist policies.

Walter Lippman, the influential columnist, supposed to be an enlightened publicist on American and foreign affairs, reveals himself as either an ignoramus or a highly prejudiced person on Indian affairs. This is what he wrote in a special article entitled 'India' :—

"India is a subject which is as remote from the political experience of all of us in America as Einstein's mathematics are from ordinary arithmetic. For no matter how many times we are told that "India" is no more a nation than "Europe" is a nation, it is not long before most of us fall back into talking as if the Hindu of

58 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

the Congress party are India and Gandhi is the George Washington of the Indian nation demanding independence from King George III.

Thus there are eighty or ninety million Moslems in India, as many as there are Germans in Europe. The Moslems and the Hindus are at least as much opposed to each other as were Protestants and Catholics during the religious struggles of the seventeenth century. There are also the "depressed classes," some sixty million—more than there are Italians in Europe—who are excluded from the caste-bound society of the Hindus. There are also ancient kingdoms in India, and there are a number of relatively small energetic nations, such as the Sikhs."

"The Problem of India is how the separate peoples of India can be both independent and united. This is a problem which the separate peoples of Europe have never been able to solve, though they are politically more experienced than the Indians. No one has ever found a way to give the peoples of Europe self-determination and independence and at the same time to unite them in one European commonwealth. Any American who thinks he knows how to solve the Indian problem ought to find the solution of the European problem child's play. For what has never been done in Europe, both the Hindus and

KATHERINE MAYO TO WALTER LIPPMAN 59

the British have been trying to do in India.. They have been trying to keep all of India under one government and yet to assure the Hindus, the Moslems, the depressed classes and the Indian kingdoms the privilege of independence.

How difficult, and perhaps impossible, it is to achieve this dual result may be judged from what happened in the provinces of India which between 1937 and 1939 had complete self-government under the rule of the Congress party. Every year the Moslems who were ruled by the Hindus solemnly observe the end of this experiment by celebrating "deliverance day." Their leader, Mr. Jinnah, who is to the Moslems what Mahatma Gandhi is to the Hindus, has ever since demanded separate Moslem states—called Pakistan—which would be as independent of the Hindu states—called Hindustan—as France from Germany."

"So well do the Congress Hindus understand how well-nigh impossible it is for India to be both unified and independent, that when the British used to promise them independence as soon as Indians could unite, they charged the British with insincerity. They said that since the British were offering independence under the one condition—namely, unity—which could never be fulfilled, the British never meant to get out of India.

It was not until the Cripps mission that the British government faced this dilemma and said that India could be independent even if that meant the end of the unity of India. Under the Cripps proposal, the Moslem regions do not have to become part of an India ruled by the Hindu majority.

It is clear, so it seems to me, that the real cause of the present Hindu revolt is not the disbelief that the British will leave India but the realization that they are certainly going to leave India. Ever since 1935, when the British began their withdrawal from India, the struggle between Hindus and Moslems has become sharper. It was bound to become sharper the nearer the Indians got to independence. For once it was certain that Britain was going, and going fairly soon, a terrific struggle was bound to ensue as to whether the Congress Party Hindus were to rule all of India.

The stakes are tremendous. The stakes are an empire. And Gandhi's demand that his party be granted immediately the control of the war-time government of all of India is the one way in which a Hindu empire might be established and consolidated.

But to yield to the Congress Hindus' demands would be to place in their hands for the domination of the whole of India all the dictatorial war

KATHERINE MAYO TO WALTER LIPPMAN 61

powers plus the military support of the United Nations. This would call for the abandonment and, in effect, the betrayal of the Moslems in order to obtain the collaboration of the Hindu party. This would have been a mighty poor bargain, considering the fact that the Congress party is led by men who have no stomach for resisting a Japanese invasion and are prepared to negotiate a separate peace."

Can there be greater misrepresentation of the Congress case or distortion of facts than this? This is naked propaganda for Pakistan. Cocktails speaking, Mr. Lippman!

I don't mean to insult an esteemed writer but I have in my possession the original copy of a British Information Bureau's Background Release, which has been reproduced by Walter Lippman in the above article—and he forgot to put in the quotation marks! No wonder C. Rajagopalacharya says "I am sorry for America."

And here is the crowning folly of British-subsidised propaganda in an American newspaper in Pittsburgh:

Under the title "India, Detroit, Pittsburgh—All Worth Your Thought", the paper opposed Indian independence in the following sermon to Americans:

62 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

"As India, China and Russia are half of the world, America can afford to take an interest in them, when not too busy with politics, prize fights or other cosmic matters.

Britain is tired of India and the white man's burden, and would like to get rid of that burden if she could.

She already has got rid of two empires—one in 1776, the other when she granted equality to Canada and Australia.

She could get rid of India and still have enough to keep her busy in Africa and several thousand other places, mostly islands in the sea.

Getting rid of India, however, would be different from getting rid of America or Canada or Australia.

America, Canada and Australia know something about democratic self-government, and have done fairly well with that knowledge.

India knows nothing about it, and will know nothing about it for centuries, if ever. If independent, her best hope would be a despotic emperor supported by one of the fighting races of the Punjab, who might keep some sort of order. The only alternative would be anarchy.

You can't sell steel rails or Ford cars to an Anarchy. Pittsburgh and Detroit, which sell

KATHERINE MAYO TO WALTER LIPPMAN 63

them to India under British rule, might think about that. Anybody who imports raw material from India or exports manufactured goods there might think about it."

This is naked British propaganda asking American business to mind their cents and dollars and leave India to the care of the British.

Long live John Bull !

CHAPTER VI

BOGUS FRIENDS OF GANDHI

"It is untrue to say today that the British are in the way of communal agreement".

* * * * *

"To talk of slavery in India is merely playing with words...The Viceroy never exercises his veto even now."— HENRY POLAK'S BROADCAST IN U. S. A.

* * * * *

"The demand that India should be given full independence here and now is incompatible with victory."—LORD RUSSELL IN A LETTER TO "THE NATION".

* * * * *

"God save me from my friends, I can take care of my enemy," would be Gandhiji's natural reaction when he reads about the activities of his treacherous British friends who while calling Gandhi "a defeatist helping India's enslavement", still pretend to be his friends. Mr. Henry Polak, Lord Bertrand Russell and Sir Norman Angell are but three specimens.

Of all the supporters of India and "Friends of Gandhi", Mr. Henry Polak who lived for years with Gandhiji in South Africa, has proved

himself to be an unfaithful friend to the Mahatma, who loved him so much. Polak, it is an open secret, was engaged by the British Publicity Department and despatched to the United States to bite Gandhi, his "old friend" in the back so that Americans might believe that Gandhi must, indeed, be so unreliable since he was being condemned by an old friend.

Polak's speeches were being arranged under the auspices of the British Information Office in Washington, D. C. and were broadcast at their expense.

"GANDHI'S UNWISE LEADERSHIP"

In a speech broadcast from six radio stations Polak said that he had been seeking to hasten India's freedom all his life, but it was not for others to give freedom. "It is for India to earn and take it." Continuing he said he was disappointed with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders who "claimed" to represent the country but did not follow Tilak's policy.

He told his American audiences, "To talk of slavery in India is merely to play with words. India enjoys 75 per cent freedom according to Edgar Snow. I should myself put it higher and add that the reason she does not at this moment enjoy virtually the whole is because of unwise leadership and missed opportunities."

VOLUNTEER ARMY *versus* CONGRESS

He went on to say "India's volunteer army is as large as the actual membership of the Congress Party."

Explaining why India had not achieved freedom so far, Polak said, "One of the first practical difficulties in the way of India's immediate freedom is the presence at the very head and heart of the Congress Party of a powerful defeatist and pacifist element headed by Gandhi." He put these words into the mouth of Pandit Nehru.

He continued, "I am not suggesting that Congress leaders are pro-Japanese. But so long as that defeatist element in the party leadership remains, it will be impossible for other parties of nationalists to collaborate with the Congress Party". (This is Lord Wavell speaking.)

TESTIMONIAL TO BRITAIN

He then gave the following testimonial to the British on the subject of communal troubles in India: "It is untrue to say today—whatever may have been the case in the past—that the British are in the way of communal agreement."

Then he assumed Amery's role and announced, "The present situation cannot be changed during the war, since to do so would raise the very

problems, which should be held up for solution by a freely elected Constituent Assembly."

BOLDEST LIE

Polak told American listeners, "The Viceroy's veto even now is never exercised." He concluded that "Britain will faithfully honour her pledge of independence to India" and that mistrust by Congress leaders had injured the cause of India's freedom.

INDEPENDENCE MEANS SLAVERY !

Lord Bertrand Russell, once a great friend of India and President of the India League in Britain, who characterised British repression as worse than Nazi tyranny assumed the role of a severe critic of Gandhiji and the Congress in the critical days of 1942, when Gandhiji and Congress leaders were thrown behind prison bars while Gandhiji was anxious to meet Lord Linlithgow and discuss terms for an honourable settlement. His sole plea in his speeches and statements was that Gandhi's programme would lead to India's enslavement by Japan.

The Earl used to be a great anti-imperialist. Once he had renounced his title in his socialist enthusiasm but under the influence of his young wife got it back again. This marriage in old age is also said to be responsible for the somer-

sault he has undergone in his politics. He was despatched to the U. S. A. during the crisis of England, ostensibly as a lecturer in a University but the real purpose was to influence American public opinion in favour of Mother England on the question of India. He was sacked from the University for his anti-Indian campaign though openly the reason given was his lectures on companionate marriage. For some time he was hard up for expenses since due to dollar exchange difficulties he could not receive income from his estate in England. It is stated he was financially taken care of by the British propaganda authorities for a considerable period in return for his propaganda upholding Churchill's policy of refusing independence to India during the war. He negotiated for a job in the Indian Information Office in Washington, a well informed friend told me. The British Information Office however did not approve of the plan since they thought it would become too obvious. The British Embassy, however, continued to support the propagandist Earl, once the President of the India League. What a fall!

— NO INDEPENDENCE NOW

Here are some excerpts from a letter he wrote to the *Nation*:

"Dear Sirs : The Indian situation is dangerous,

and if it is to be wisely dealt with, clear thinking is very necessary. I find in some quarters a lack of clear thinking which may increase the dangers that we all wish to diminish.

"There are some points about which we are all agreed. First, the Indian difficulty must be handled in the way most likely to help in winning the war. Second, as soon as the war is over, India is to have independence—as complete, at any rate, as Great Britain or any other country will have. The only practical question at issue is : what is to be done during the continuance of the war ? I feel that neither the British Government nor the Congress Party is treating this question in the way most likely to lead to victory. *Many people in America seem to feel that Gandhi must be in the right since he stands for National Independence. Others feel that loyalty to an ally makes criticism of the British Government impolitic.* Both seem to me mistaken. On the one hand, insistence on immediate independence, with all the confusion resulting from a *transfer of Government in the middle of a war, would probably end in the enslavement of both India and China to Japan.* On the other hand, the problem of India, since it is part of the problem of victory, is a problem on which all the United Nations have a right to a voice.

HIGH DEATH RATE

"The question of India is much more complex than it appears to many American liberals. They do not know that one of the points on which the Cripps Mission broke down was the unwillingness of the Hindus to admit that Moslems have the same right to Independence from Hindus as Hindus from British. They profess to think that Sir Stafford Cripps' promises are not to be trusted. They attribute the poverty of Indians to the British, in spite of the fact that the poverty of China has always been at least as great. Mr. Louis Fischer, in "The Nation" of August 22, mentions that the infant death rate is 274 in Bombay as against 66 in London, and remarks that "such figures burn deep resentment, hatred, and disloyalty into the soul of India". The implication that the higher death rate of Bombay as compared with London is entirely the result of British misgovernment is most unfair. Bombay has a hot climate and a high birth rate; London a low birth rate and a temperate climate. I have no doubt that the British Government could have done more than it has done to reduce the high infant death rate, just as the Government of the United States could have done a great deal more than it has done to reduce the death rate among the children of Southern Negroes; but there is no reason to suppose that fewer children

would die in Bombay if British rule were to be succeeded by a government headed by Mr. Gandhi. Some years ago Mr. Gandhi stated that the earthquakes then troubling India were sent as a punishment for sin. This attitude has never been very effective against a high infant death rate. And Mr. Fischer should remember that there is every reason to think that the death rate in China, before the beginning of the war with Japan, was at least as high as in India.

"Above all, American liberals refuse to face the difficulty of establishing Indian independence overnight when every scheme hitherto suggested, whether by Indians or by the British, is vehemently rejected by a large section of Indian opinion....."

ALLIED COMMISSION

*"The demand that India should be given full independence here and now is incompatible with victory, and would not be made by the Congress Party if it thought the defeat of Japan more important than immediate emancipation from England. It is this demand that creates the apparently insoluble difficulty. I believe, however, that a solution is still possible, though at some cost to British *amour propre*.*

"India, as an imperial possession, is lost to

England ; everyone in England, including Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery, knows this. The problem is to make the transition to self-government without holding India over to Japan. This problem concerns China and Russia just as much as it concerns England. It should be dealt with, not by England alone, but by the United Nations jointly. There should be appointed, with the consent of the British Government, a commission of four men, chosen respectively by the British, American, Soviet, and Chinese governments, with full power to negotiate with all sections of Indian opinion and to make recommendations keeping in mind two objectives ; first, that the war must be won ; second, that Indian independence should be granted as soon as it can be granted without hindering this first objective. If, as I believe, complete independence cannot be granted now without retarding the conduct of the war, the commission would probably find that some of the functions of government could be transferred without delay. There should be, at the earliest possible moment, interim measures to produce an armistice in the present Indian conflict and, later, considered proposals for a permanent settlement. The British government should undertake to accept the findings of the commission provided the other three governments did so. If any section of

Indian opinion rejected them it would be in effect siding with the Japanese and would have to be treated as a hostile force." Lord Russell said, "Complete National Independence, even for the strongest nation, has become an anachronism, since it can only lead to successive enslavement by predatory powers. For the same reasons a private imperialism, such as that of England in India, is equally an anachronism. But those American liberals who think that insurgent Nationalism is right while imperialist Nationalism is wrong are still living in the nineteenth century."

ANUP SINGH ANSWERS RUSSELL

Dr. Anup Singh, Secretary of the National Committee for India's Freedom, replied to the erring Earl as follows:

"Dear Sirs : I take strong exception to much in Bertrand Russell's letter on India in "The Nation" of September 5. The letter needs to be particularly examined because coming from a distinguished thinker and a friend of India it is bound to carry much weight.

"Mr. Russell complains that the American liberals do not know that one of the points on which the Cripps mission broke down was the

74 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

unwillingness of the Hindus to admit that Moslems have the same right of independence from Hindus as the Hindus from Britain." That issue had absolutely nothing to do with Cripps' failure. Cripps failed because Britain refused to curtail the dictatorial powers of the Viceroy, and because it refused to trust Indians with the defence of their land. Cripps admitted in the House of Commons that he never once discussed the minority question with the Congress, though he discussed it with the minorities. Of course Congress objected to Cripps' plan, for it implied Pakistan, and Jinnah rejected it for its failure to guarantee Pakistan, but the negotiations finally broke down over the nature of the interim government, not over what was to come at the end of the war.

"There is nothing in common between the desire of a fraction of Moslems for independence from the Hindus and the desire of the overwhelming mass of the Indians to end an alien rule. Hindus and Moslems have religious differences that have recently been accentuated by Jinnah's intransigent attitude. Moslems, prior to the British, lived in India for centuries as rulers of the Hindus and since the British have lived as equals. They belong to the same racial stock and speak the same language as the Hindus. This Moslem talk of independence from

the Hindus started only in 1939; since Cripps, it has been made the pre-condition of any negotiations between the two groups.

“Mr. Russell further complains that American liberals ‘do not face the difficulty of a complete change of government when a Japanese invasion is imminent’. Indians never asked for a drastic change that would involve either an election in India or passage of a Bill in Parliament. They did ask for a coalition Indian government with real powers given it by convention or gentlemen’s agreement. Russell cites Ireland’s case to warn that even the grant of freedom may not fully arouse India for the war. He may be right. But without the grant of this freedom the apathy and bitterness in India will certainly play into the enemy’s hands. That is the issue.”

GANDHI BELIEVES IN WORK

“Russell takes Louis Fischer to task for suggesting that the disparity between the death rate in Bombay and London burns deep resentment and hatred into the soul of India, and for implying that the death rate is entirely the result of British rule. Fischer merely stated a fact in reporting the existence of this feeling among the Indians, without seeking to justify fully those feelings. The grinding poverty in

India is largely responsible for the high death rate, and certainly there is connection between poverty and the government of the day in India. It is quite possible, as Russell suggests, that the death rate in Bombay, with a hot climate, will always be higher than in London, but it need not remain so appallingly high.

"Again, Russell may be right in saying that there is no reason to suppose that fewer children would die in Bombay under a government headed by a man like Gandhi, who said that earthquake shocks in India were punishment for sin. Yet this attitude of Gandhi's has never prevented him from actively striving to improve the lot of the Indian masses. Gandhi looks upon British rule, too, as punishment for Indian sins, but he doesn't sit idly by. He also believes that India is paying for its sins against the untouchables, but he does not leave the matter there; he is exhorting the upper classes to abolish this iniquitous system. In fact, in his opposition to British rule Gandhi is moved largely by the conviction that India's social and economic regeneration is no longer possible under the British.

WHY NO INDIAN?

"Finally, I take exception to the composition of the commission! Russell proposes for the settle-

ment of the Indian question. He suggests an American, British, Chinese, and Russian member. If a British, why not an Indian? Why should one party in the dispute and not the other be allowed to sit in judgment on its own deeds? Let both parties, Britain and India, give a prior commitment to abide by the decision of an international tribunal. Indian nationalism is neither jingoistic nor exclusive; it is international in its outlook. When Indians talk of independence, they mean the absolute end of British domination, and not freedom from legitimate international obligations and responsibilities as Russell seems to imply.

While Russell is perturbed over the lack of clear thinking about India among American liberals, I am perturbed over the present attitude of the English liberals towards India. I wonder if Russell, too, is going the way of Cripps, Norman Angell, and others!"—Signed Anup Singh.

New York, September, 10.

RUSSELL SUPPORTS PAKISTAN

To the hundreds of admirers of Earl Bertrand Russell it would be a shock to know that in his old age the Earl, who always believed in world unity and a World Federation, has been supporting the division of India during his lecture tours in the United States.

78 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

At a debate with Dr. Anup Singh, the Earl declared that Muslims had a right to demand Pakistan and this was the only solution of India's problems, since the two communities could not live together.

Dr. Anup Singh retorted "May be it was not a sanctified wedding but it was at least a workable companionate marriage. Now you insist on divorce." The audience roared with laughter and the Earl felt embarrassed because he was very unpopular in the U. S. A. for preaching his theory of companionate marriage, which cost him his lectureship in a University which did not like his ultra-modern views.

A GENTLEMAN'S PACT

The Earl met Anup Singh the same night on the train as a fellow passenger and told him "Please never crack that joke about companionate marriage in public, since you know how Americans feel about my theory."

Anup Singh replied, "O. K., if you don't talk of Pakistan any more."

The Earl said, "It is a gentleman's pact."

"GANDHI HELPING ENSLAVEMENT"

In a letter to the "New York Times," Russell charged Mahatma Gandhi of helping Japanese

conquest and India's enslavement." Here are some excerpts from the letter :

"As a past president of the India League in England and a supporter for many years of the movement for Indian self-government, I feel that I should make clear my strong opposition to the present policy of Mr. Gandhi.

"I ardently desire freedom for India, and I consider that Mr. Gandhi's policy is likely to assist Indian's enslavement. I hope that the British Government will grant India complete independence, and not merely dominion status, when the war ends, and I should favour the immediate granting of such civil independence as is compatible with the military necessities of India and all the other threatened nations.

"Complete independence is not possible among nations involved in modern war.

"Mr. Gandhi's movement is calculated to hinder the Victory of the United Nations and to assist Japanese conquest not only of India but also of China. Whoever supports this movement is no friend of either India or China."

Now the Earl is staging another somersault, but India will not be fooled again. We prefer honest enemies to treacherous friends. I honour Churchill more than any bogus friends of India like Polak and Bertrand Russell or a bogus socialist like Sir Stafford Cripps.

CHAPTER VII

APOLOGIA FOR CONQUEST

The word 'Empire' stinks in the British nostrils too and it is interesting to read their apologia for the Empire, issued for American consumption.

* * * * *

"Britain never wanted to conquer India."

* * * * *

"The more the Directors of the East India Company insisted on trade, the more did the Company's employees become involved in India's internal trade.....Moreover, India's internal divisions were an obvious temptation to outside intervention."—A THUMBNAIL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA (ISSUED BY LORD HALIFAX'S INFORMATION SERVICE)

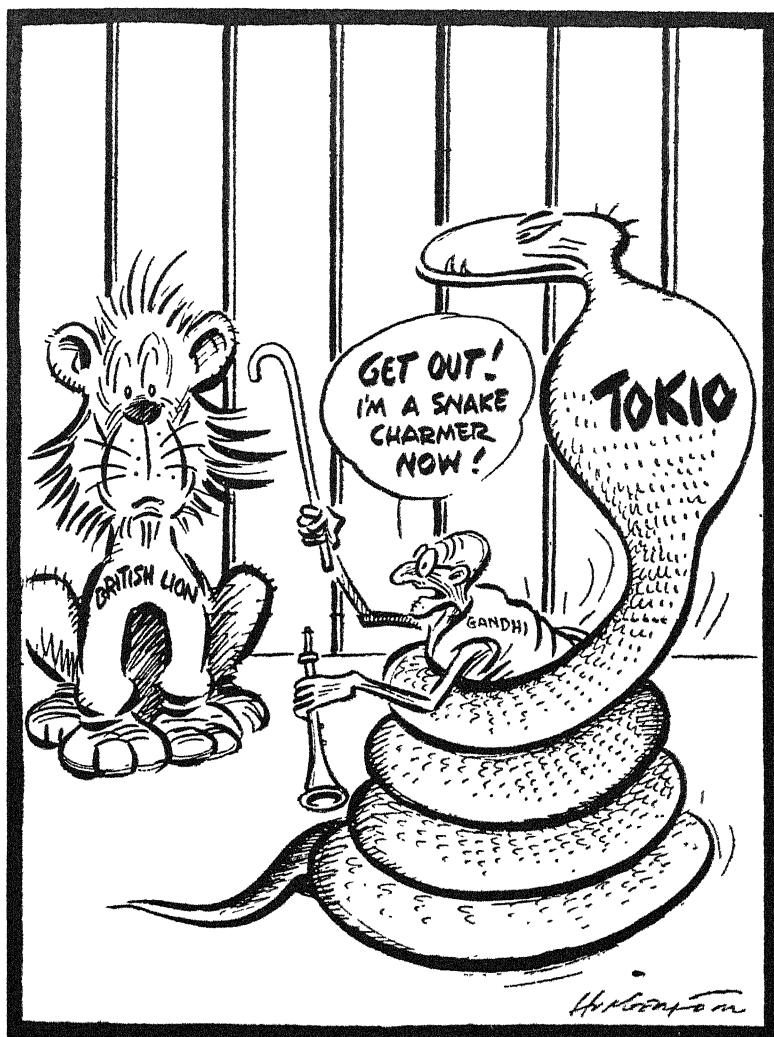
* * * * *

"In times when the right of the conqueror was still taken for granted, the British conquered India. The change in world opinion to an attitude which condemns conquest, and rule of one race by another is shared by the British today."¹

—PETER MUIR IN "THIS IS INDIA"

* * * * *

¹Peter Muir does not seem to have heard of Premier Churchill's declaration, "We mean to hold our own."



The Lion Tamer Changes his Act.

It is not quite true to say that the British Imperialists have no conscience. They seem to have a conscience which is occasionally pricked by American public opinion and it rises in self-defence when Americans insist on the liquidation of the Empire as a preliminary to world peace. The apologias in defence of the Empire present interesting reading.

Not satisfied with their plea "If Muslims can remain in India, why not the British", the British Information Services in America issued the following interesting apologia for the conquest of India and its continued enslavement, based on the theme of the White man's burden.

A THUMBNAIL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA*

PART I. TRADE

"About 1600, British traders went to India—no thought of conquest. They obtained permission from the Moghul Emperor to set up factories and to fortify them in view of the unsettled conditions of the continent with its frequent wars between one state and another. Ordinary trade relations—like those existing today between the U. S. A. and India—continued for 150 years.

*Background Information, 205/No. 4/DM/26/5/43.

82 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

"But in mid-eighteenth century, when France and Britain were at war in Europe, French traders in India allied themselves with Indian princes to drive their British rivals from India. The British replied by counter alliances and drove out the French.

PART II. POLITICAL ENTANGLEMENTS

"Thus, from 1757 the East India Company began to be involved in Indian politics. The London directors constantly reiterated that the duty of their employees in India was to buy and sell goods, avoid politics. Neither directors nor employees realised that these instructions were counsels of perfection. The Anglo-French wars and the disintegration of the Moghul Empire had created conditions of chaos in India in which trade was only possible if law and order were established; the more the directors insisted on trade, the more did the Company's employees become involved in India's internal affairs.

"Moreover, India's internal divisions were an obvious temptation to outside intervention and, inevitably as time went on, developed a corresponding deliberate desire to expand on the part of the British; nobody thought this morally blame-worthy until the post-1918 era when the democracies developed the ideology that conquest is wrong; such an idea would have been incom-

prehensible to the British traders and soldiers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as to all their contemporaries and it is idle to judge them by it.

PART III. TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

"As the Company spread its political sovereignty, its activities inevitably attracted the attention of the British Parliament more and more. Steady reformatory legislation conditioned its activities until the British Government assumed complete responsibility for the Government of India in 1858.

"Since 1800, vast tracts of India, and since 1858, the whole of India, has experienced continuous peace.

PART IV. INDIAN NATIONALISM

"English was the language of Government and of business, so that ambitious young Indians learnt it.

"For the first time in Indian history, the Pathan in the North, the Bengali in the East, the Gujerati in the West and the Tamil in the South, could trade in security across the continent along India's newly built 42,000 miles of railroads, thousands of miles of new roads and discuss their problems in a common language—English. They began for the first time

84 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

to be less conscious of themselves as Pathans, Bengalis, Gujeratis and Tamils and more conscious of themselves as *Indians*.

"English is the language of democracy and political liberty. Educated Indians read John Locke, Edmund Burke, J. S. Mill. They began to be politically-minded. That the British were foreign rulers was another factor in developing national consciousness.

"An Indian Nationalist movement was born in a continent hitherto only conscious of its different states (as Europe is today). If the British had never gone there, it is reasonable to suppose that India would have continued along the lines laid out in its pre-British history and that India today would be a continent made up of different states like Europe or South America".

Thus ends the thumbnail History. The Imperial apologist forgets that India was a united country even before the Christian era and even in the times of Akbar, and disintegration began after Aurangzebe in the 18th century.

"INDIA WITHOUT FABLE"

The following extracts from an analysis by British propaganda of some of the economic allegations in Kate Mitchell's book, "India Without Fable" offer interesting sidelights on

the British apologia for continued rule of India. They were issued as *strictly confidential* instructions to British propagandists in America.

BRITISH PROMOTION OF POWER INDUSTRIES

Criticism. "For approximately 150 years, India has been developed primarily as a market for British manufacturers, a source of raw materials for British industry, and an outlet for British capital investment on very favourable terms. Her financial, trade and tariff policies are determined by the British Government." (Page 37).

Comment. As the world's pioneer in large scale industrial manufacture, Britain benefited by the decay in handicraft industries which followed the Industrial Revolution, in India *as in all other countries*. Britain's own handicraft industries were killed by British manufacturing industries. The process was regarded as an inevitable and natural part of progress. New methods were supplanting old methods. Britain, however, in addition to equipping India with such essential public utilities as railroads, roads, and other means of transport and communications—*also developed power industries in India, in direct*

The *Criticisms* are Miss Mitchell's and the *Comments* are those of a British propagandist and the remarks in brackets are mine
—Author.

86 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

competition with similar industries located in Britain itself.

Examples are: The great jute industry in Bengal which has ousted or excluded Dundee jute products from so many world markets;

Cotton mill industry, utilising machinery of Lancashire manufacture ; now excluding Lancashire piecegoods ;

Woollen Mills, competing with U. K. manufacturers, now almost excluded ;

Boot and Shoe Factories, now meeting most of India's requirements ;

Cement Manufacture, with the same result ; and many others.

As a source of raw materials India has been utilised as freely by other countries, including Continental Europe and the United States, as by Britain.

If the U. S. A., for so many decades found it profitable to export raw cotton, etc., why should it be considered deleterious or unprofitable for India to engage in the same trade ?

One of the provisions of the Atlantic Charter is to the effect that all countries are to have equal access to supplies of raw materials. Indian raw materials, including such monopoly products as jute, have always been equally accessible to all buyers.

Except during the operation of the short-lived Ottawa Preferences, India has also always been equally accessible to all countries as a market for manufactures; Britain's predominance as a supplier of Indian requirements being due, mainly, to superior initiative and organisation.

Since 1922, when India acquired the right to fix her own tariffs, the proportion of Indian imports supplied by Britain has dropped from about two-thirds to one-third.

PREDOMINANCE OF INDIAN CAPITAL

Criticism. "British capital predominates in virtually all important industrial and commercial enterprises in India—in railways, shipping, insurance, etc., and in the tea, coffee and rubber plantations." (Page 37).

Comment. The railroads are, except to a negligible extent State-owned and State-controlled, and the capital, aggregating about 1,530,000,000 (\$2,200,000,000) is vested in the Government of India acting on behalf of the people of India who benefit directly and indirectly from the operation of the 42,000 miles of railway constructed.

It is true that most of the capital was advanced initially by British investors, at low rates of interest; this was because at the period of construction, Indian capital was not available

for this purpose. Even today, the bulk of India's capital is locked up in usurious advances to the peasantry, at rates of interest ranging from 25% upwards, while the sums invested in industrial undertakings and Government loans are relatively small.

Today, however, the railroads are Indian-owned, and all the profits, which are substantial, remain in the country.

In the cotton, steel, match, jute, leather, woollen, and other principal urban industries Indian capital predominates, and also has a large stake in the plantation industries ; tea, coffee and rubber. Of these industries, steel alone owes its development to Indian capital and initiative. For the most part, Indian investors have risked their capital only in industries established by British pioneers.

The continued predominance of British shipping and insurance is not peculiar to India alone, and does not debar a steady advance for Indian enterprises operating in the same fields.

BANKING FACILITIES

Criticism. "Another important feature of the Indian economy is that because most of the large banks are either Government-controlled or are branches of British and foreign banks, Indian industrialists find it almost impossible to

finance industrial enterprises of which the British do not approve." (Page 38).

Comment. Indian industrialists have not infrequently sought to obtain, from banks, the long-term capital which British enterprises secure from share-holders...British bankers have always based their investments on the assumption that their first duty is to their own shareholders and depositors. This sound principle perhaps helps to account for the fact, noted by Miss Mitchell, that two-thirds of banking deposits in India are in banks under British management. A number of Indian banks, which made long-term advances to Indian industries on the basis of short-term deposits, came to grief, and lost both capital and deposits, thereby causing a setback to the slowly developing banking habit in India, which it is so desirable to cultivate, in order to offset the ancient habit of "hoarding".

TARIFFS AGAINST BRITISH MANUFACTURES

Criticism. "A second feature of India's economy is the backwardness of her industries. Except for a brief period during and immediately after the first World War, British policy up to 1939 did not encourage the development of modern industries in India, particularly the heavy basic industries which would reduce Indian dependence on British products" (Page 40).

Comment. The concise answer to the suggestion that Indian industrial development is being restrained in the interests of U. K. manufactures is that since 1922, when India acquired fiscal autonomy, British exports to India have dropped by half, from approximately £60,000,000. (\$240,000,000) to about £30,000,000 (\$120,000,000), owing to the imposition by the Government of India of high protective tariffs, and that Indian industries have expanded their production *pro rata*.

Heaviest sufferer has been Lancashire whose exports of cotton piecegoods fell from 3,000,000,000 yards a year prior to the first World War to under 300 million yards (one-tenth of their pre-1914 total) in 1939. In the same period the production of Indian cotton mills increased from about 1,000 million yards to 4,500 million yards.

Steel production and associated industries likewise developed during the inter-war period; also aided by protective tariffs.

The major hindrance to the development of India's heavy industries is neither lack of capital nor natural resources, but the limited domestic market...India's steel production is being doubled under pressure of war requirements and if this output is maintained in the post-war period there will be little scope for imports from Britain or any other country. Indeed, we may well see

India export surplus steel to other Eastern markets.

There is a fast potential market in India for, say, modern agricultural implements, but this will remain "potential" so long as the money-lenders retain their grip and leave the vast agricultural population in a state of economic anaemia, without either the means or the incentive to raise their standard of living and purchasing power.

There should be ample scope for Indian industries, in meeting the needs of the 400 million people in their own domestic markets; but it is the Indian usurer, not the oversea manufacturer, who is hampering progress.

The toll levied by the Indian moneylenders equals the joint revenues of the Government of India and the eleven British India Provinces. Mass production necessitates mass consumption. In India usury reduces mass consumption to diminutive proportions; and the backward condition of the Indian factory industries needs no other examination.

MONEYLENDERS AND PEASANTS

Criticism. "The third outstanding feature of the Indian economic structure is the fact that more than 80% of the Indian people live in India's

730,000 villages and depend for their existence on what they can raise from the tiny scattered strips of land which make up the average peasant holding. Moreover, the proportion of the Indian population dependent on agriculture has *increased* during the last twenty-five years, despite the growth of a few modern industries."

(Page 41).

Comment. There are two main reasons for the increase in the percentage of the Indian population dependent on agriculture :

(1) the exiguous purchasing power left in the hands of the rural population, after the exactions of the moneylenders have been met, thereby narrowing the market for factory products.

(2) the tremendous rate of increase in population—eighty millions in the twenty years 1921-41—creating an employment problem beyond the capacity of mechanised industries to solve no matter how intensive the scale of development may be.

If Indian industries produced *all* the goods now imported—valued at about £112,000,000 (\$448,000,000) in the last pre-war year 1938-39—the additional employment afforded would probably not exceed one million workers; as against an *annual* increase in population, in the last two decades, of four millions. And this calculation

ignores the elementary fact that if India ceased to import she would also cease to export; with a corresponding diminution of employment in the exporting industries.

No conceivable scheme of economic development in India can absorb an additional population of four millions a year; and the remedial measures called for are social and religious, not economic. The State is virtually powerless.

INDIA'S LOW PURCHASING POWER

Criticism. "The cause of Indian poverty is not the rate of population growth, but the fact that India is a case of arrested economic development." (Page 46).

Comment. One of the major, and continuing hindrances to industrial development in India has been the reluctance of Indian investors to hazard their capital on industrial enterprises.

Early in the present century, the Government of India initiated the co-operative credit movement, designed to finance cultivators at moderate rates of interest, but it will be readily appreciated that the Indian interests mainly affected have done nothing to promote this campaign, and, in subtle ways have done much to hinder it.

INDIA'S HOARDED GOLD

Criticism. "British economists point with pride to the fact that England managed to

94 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

emerge from the world depression in better financial shape than the rest of the world. But this was accomplished partly at least, because between 1931 and 1935 some £203 million in gold went to England from India, or more than the total British gold reserve before the crisis."

(Page 64).

Comment. Most, or all, of the gold shipped from India to Britain during the period noted is now in American vaults, to which it found its way partly owing to America's unreadiness to accept payments in goods instead of gold.

For centuries India has been an importer of gold, mainly for hoarding purposes, and if after Britain's abandonment of the gold standard she found it profitable, for a period, to become an exporter, she was not the only country in that position.

To some extent the de-hoarding process was due to the "crisis" fall in primary commodity values, for which America, as well as Britain, must share responsibility. The Calcutta Wholesale Price Index Number, which stood at 41 in 1929 dropped to 96 by 1930 and to 91 by 1936, and none were harder hit than the Indian Peasantry who, to quote Miss Mitchell herself, "could only meet their liabilities by the sale of their gold and jewelry, the traditional form of savings among the masses of the Indian people".

(Page 64). Why, however, by implication, ascribe the sole responsibility for this worldwide catastrophe, and its financial consequence, to the U. K. Government, or to the Government of India ?

In reality, as Miss Mitchell admits, much of the de-hoarded gold came from the "Princes and other wealthy Indians", who realised their gold at a profit and, in fact, invested the proceeds in industrial enterprises; a very healthy transfer for all concerned. If India hoarded less and invested more, she would be far more prosperous." (What a discovery ! The truth is, the poor zamin-dars and farmers sold all their gold in the years of depression since land income did not enable them to pay even the revenue.)

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND STATE AID

Criticism. "Prior to the First World War, however, British capital investment was in no way concerned with promoting Indian industrialisation—more than 90% of the total investment was devoted to administration, finance, transport and the production of raw materials... British authorities were openly opposed to any industrial development in India." (Page 125).

Comment. The Government of India's policy was not opposed "to any industrial development

96 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

in India" but only to direct State aid, in the form of subsidies, and—until 1922—protective tariffs. To private enterprise there was no opposition whatsoever. On the contrary, excluding steel—which owed its development mainly to Indian capital and initiative—nearly every important industry in India was pioneered by the British commercial community who risked their capital in mining, engineering, textile and other industries while also selling Indian produce in world markets and British manufactures in India.

Protective tariffs came only after 1922, when India acquired fiscal autonomy, but it is also fair to emphasize that so long as India, like Britain itself, remained on a Free Trade basis, the Indian market was open, without discrimination, to manufacturers in all countries. The World Depression brought the Ottawa Preferences but, these were short-lived, and while no Indian industry was injured by their imposition, several benefited. Like the first World War the present conflict is giving Indian industry another tremendous fillip.

SACRIFICE OF LANCASHIRE'S COTTON TRADE

Criticism. ".....India's industrial development between the first and second World Wars was extremely slow...The cotton textile industry,

the first and most important industrial enterprise in which Indian capital predominated, had experienced unparalleled prosperity during the war and the immediate post-war boom period. But after 1923, in spite of a continued increase in the volume of production, a depression of both prices and profits set in which continued more or less without interruption until the outbreak of the war in 1939." (Page 174).

Comment. That Indian cotton mills, contiguous to their raw materials as well as to the domestic market, need protective tariffs, to protect them from the competition of Lancashire and Japanese goods, does not imply a very high level of efficiency. In point of fact, by recourse to penalising tariffs and quota restrictions, imports of cotton piece goods into India were forced down from about 2,000 million yards in 1928-29 to 600 million yards in 1938-39, Lancashire and Japan each supplying about half the latter total.

Lancashire has lost the Indian market and does not plan or expect to regain it. American cotton growers, whose staples fed the Lancashire mills, share the loss." (A clever attempt to prejudice America).

DEVELOPMENT OF "HEAVY" INDUSTRIES

Criticism. "With regard to the iron and

steel industry, the most important Indian industrial enterprise outside the textile field, finished steel production did rise from 124,000 tons in 1919 to approximately 690,000 tons in 1938, and it was estimated that the Indian steel industry was supplying from 50 to 70% of the domestic demand. But this, however, was merely an indication of the extremely limited market for steel..." (Page 175).

Comment. The "limited market" is, in fact, the governing factor in relation to future industrial expansion in India. Steel production has been doubled under pressure of war requirements, and, on the basis of pre-war consumption. India will find herself after the war with a surplus available for export. This is not to imply that India's own off-take cannot be increased, but it is unlikely that the pace of expansion will be rapid.

For example, there is admittedly immense scope for the extension of hydro-electric power, for rural as well as urban purposes, and the resultant stimulus to production and efficiency would undoubtedly be considerable. Such a development would be aided and sustained by the wide extension of technical training and experience brought by the expansion of Indian munitions production as well as in the Fighting Forces, now numbering two millions. Economic

Reconstruction Plans are being worked out and will be implemented when the opportunity occurs.

IN DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE

The British Information Services issued a very interesting defence of the British Empire in May, 1944, from New York. Here are some gems culled from this 32-page pamphlet :—

“British institutions change quite rapidly, but their names change slowly or not at all.....That is true of the political institution still commonly called, in the United States, the ‘British Empire.’ (Why only in the United States? Isn’t every Tory proud to call it just that?) “It has been changing ever since the American colonies left it—and it was changing even as they left it. But in the last generation it has changed so fast that even the British have had to change its name. In 1918 they started calling it, ‘The British Commonwealth of Nations’ as well as ‘The British Empire’, and by now the name seems to have settled down to—‘The British Commonwealth and Empire’, which is what Mr. Winston Churchill calls it.” (He uses different names in England and America).

“The Dominion part of the Commonwealth and Empire grew up in much the same way, about the same time, as the United States grew

100 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

from its original size in 1783 to fill its present boundaries. While the people of the young United States were busily expanding their society overland into Louisiana and the former Mexican territory to the west, as well as into Oregon, the British were settling in Upper Canada and in Australia, in New Zealand, in South Africa. In each case title to the new territories was acquired by purchase, or conquest, or agreement, or by annexation, or by a mixture of methods. The real title in each case was made good by effective settlement. The American people soon ceased to call the lands swept over by their moving 'frontier' an empire. The British, whose frontier was overseas, stuck to the name longer even when the name fell into bad odour at the end of the nineteenth century."

What a convincing argument to maintain the Empire !

CHAPTER VIII

HOLY LIES

“Gandhi and his All-India Party (Congress) represent at most one per cent people of India.”

—GENERAL SIR WALTER VENNING, OF THE BRITISH SUPPLY MISSION IN U. S. A.

* * * * *
“Britain does not receive a cent from India.”

—LORD HALIFAX IN A SPEECH.

* * * * *
“India has more than two hundred languages.”

—BRITISH PROPAGANDA

* * * * *
“By various tricks and misrepresentations Gandhi converted lakhs of Muslims to Hinduism”.

—FROM “THIS IS INDIA”, A BRITISH SUBSIDISED BOOK.

* * * * *
“We want freedom but with honour and in peace”.—SIR FEROZ KHAN NOON.

* * * * *
“To give authority to the Congress Party is inevitably to put the Party in a position to further its interests against those of the majority of the Indians.”—A SUBSIDISED AMERICAN JOURNAL.

"The Congress campaign in 1942 was directed from Tokyo".—BRITISH PROPAGANDA.

* * * * *

"We have already put our name to the Atlantic Charter. This lays down the fundamental principles on which the peace settlement must be based, and I do not think there is anyone...who dissents from those principles.....His Majesty's Government regard themselves as absolutely pledged to carry out the Atlantic Charter, all the articles of the Atlantic Charter."—VISCOUNT CRANBORNE, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, LONDON.

* * * * *

In plain language, propaganda means the art of telling lies, and what more naked lies could the British propagandists circulate in America than those quoted above? Gandhi converting lakhs of Muslims to Hinduism, Tokyo directing the Congress campaign, and the Congress working against the majority of the people, are specimens of political honesty exhibited by the holy man, Lord Halifax, and his gallant brigade of ten thousand propagandists and a few Indian stooges. Imperialism, Nazism, Fascism, and, in fact, the structure of western culture are based on greed and violence and in order to justify their crimes against the weak, the tyrants seek shelter behind lies. They and

their nations know the truth and yet they indulge in lies in order to cheat the civilised world and fondly believe they can succeed. In this chapter I quote some of those holy lies from British propaganda publications distributed in America. Let any defender of Imperialism deny them !

WHY ILLITERACY IN INDIA ?

Here is a very interesting but fraudulent apologia for keeping the masses in India illiterate. British propaganda told Americans in a 44-page publication as follows :

"It must be remembered, however, that nine-tenths of the Indian population live in villages mostly—small and scattered, so the provision of effective primary education is expensive and difficult to organise. Formidable obstacles are presented by caste and communal feeling. In the light of the difficulties and of the declared policy of interfering as little as possible with the religious and social customs of the people, British rule in India has no reason to apologise for its educational record." (Page 32. *A Picture of India* Published by the British Information Services.)

"The Muslim League dominates the provincial governments of all provinces where Muslims predominate—Punjab, Sind, N.-W. F. Province, and

104 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

Bengal. Only in the small N.-W. F. Province is its influence small." (P. 175 *Report on India*—BY T. A. RAMAN.)

"The Kisan Sabhas are bitterly disappointed by the Congress Ministries and now vehemently oppose the Congress Party." (Page 176: *Report on India*.)

ATTACKS ON GANDHIJI

Peter Muir, like Beverley Nichols is a sworn enemy of Hindus and Hinduism. Gandhiji is the special target of this much advertised 'unbiased' British hireling. Here are some of his typically mean and malicious lies: "Millions of Muslims regard Gandhi as a tyrant and Hindus of both sexes have described him to me as a hypocritical reformer and a political charlatan. His own utterances and actions have convinced me that he is a fraud". This is his tribute to the greatest living Christian.

Peter Muir has the audacity to publish this baseless charge against the Mahatma "*By various tricks and misrepresentations Gandhi has converted lakhs of ignorant Muslims to Hinduism.*"

Gandhiji had a hearty laugh, when I read out the above charge to him. This book was

largely distributed free in the United States by the British propaganda agency.

CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM ALLIANCE

Like his co-hireling Beverley Nichols, Peter Muir is a sworn enemy of Hindus and wants them to be wiped out. He quotes "Many Muslims" pointed out that there would be no obstacles to the smooth running of a society composed of Christians and Muslims. "We would go to our mosques on Friday, and you to your Churches on Sunday. We would not drink cocktails or eat ham in your houses, and catholics would not eat meat in ours on Fridays. You would observe Lent, and we Ramzan. But even in religious matters we have much in common.

.....Christ as well as Mohammad, is one of our prophets".

Since when has Christ become a Muslim prophet ? It seems Peter Muir's Khansama or bearer must have revealed the great discovery to his Sahib or who knows it may be entirely his own fabrication !

While everyone of the hundreds of thousands of Americans admire the fluent English Indians speak and write, Peter Muir says "Though their English is precise, it is very diffi-

cult to understand owing to the sing-song inflection characteristic of Indians".

MALIGNS PATIALA AND NIZAM

I have met thousands of Americans in India, America and other parts of the world during my six trips round the world, but have never come across an ungrateful American who after enjoying hospitality should ridicule his host, but Peter Muir is unique in his ingratitude too. A black-mailer does not spare even his hosts. Peter Muir maligns many of his hosts in India.

About his host H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala he writes : "Being an exceedingly vain man, he delights in any opportunity to be conspicuous".

About H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad he writes, "There are hundreds of well-substantiated stories regarding his petty avarice. One day he overheard two of his gardeners quarreling ; he left his study, went into the garden, and intervened. One owed the other ten rupees, and as this was pay-day, the creditor was trying to collect his loan. The Nizam took ten rupees from the debtor, gave five to the creditor, and put the other five in his pocket, saying that that was his fee as arbitrator ; the debt should be liquidated next pay-day."

About a Brahmin journalist host he writes .

"The unobtrusive little host was militantly pro-Congress, and had at one time been a bomb thrower. He was relatively a poor man, with a large family and could ill-afford entertaining". He alleges the Congress paid his host for entertaining him.

NO FAMINE UNDER BRITISH

Peter Muir writing in 1943, when millions died of famine in India says, "Seventy years ago failure of rains meant starvation, with mortalities ranging from one to five million. Since 1900 *there has not been a serious famine in India*".

CONGRESS PRO-JAPANESE

Peter Muir quotes H. H. the Maharaja of Indore saying "The pro-Japanese element in Congress is stronger than most people are aware. Many members take Hitler's victory for granted".

A FABRICATED INTERVIEW*

T. A. Raman, Indian stooge No. 2 in Washington published the following malicious lie against Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi :—

"On Pearl Harbour day within an hour of the staggering radio reports, I contacted the charmed

*In his book "What Does Gandhi want". This book was very generously distributed free by Bajpai Information Office.

circle. It was Gandhi's day of silence and I had an appointment with him the next morning, but I tried hard to secure a statement from him. He motioned me, when I eventually got to him, to wait till the next day. But in the process of meeting the Mahatma, I had to pass Rajkumari (Princess) Amrit Kaur, the scion of a ruling family, who, in the absence of Mahadev Desai, was functioning as the Chief Private Secretary. The following is the extract from my diary reporting that encounter.

'But what do you want him to say?' She demanded. 'Denounce another example of unprovoked, treacherous aggression; deplore the militarism which is bringing a trail of sorrow and blood to millions in Asia added to the millions of China; express sympathy for the United States—anything, however innocuous, however general—?'

'Message to America,' retorted the Rajkumari, 'sympathy for America? Why, take it from me, that if Japan declared war, it was because she had no option but to do so. And from then, if these gangsters, British and American, defeat Japan, then the only Asiatic power would be crushed out of existence. Why send a message of sympathy to the United States? What can Bapu (Gandhi) say anyway? He said nothing about Russia, which was a clear case of aggres-

sion. All these people are war-mad and it is best that Bapu keeps mum. Sympathy for China ? Of course we have thought that, but it won't do any good if Japan is crushed."

RAJKUMARI CONTRADICTS

In a letter to me Rajkumari Amrit Kaur says, "I confess it is astonishing reading ! I am quite sure I never made the remarks he attributes to me. Such would be wholly inconsistent with my loyalty to Gandhiji and to the Congress. I am a firm believer in non-violence and loathe war and aggression in any shape or form. The Japanese Consulate used for years to be my neighbours in Simla and I often used to argue with the consuls against their nation's aggressive policy and belief in war. The Consulate used to send me a Japanese daily, in English, to give me a true version of their acts and policies but this was at once stopped when I wrote and told them of my horror at their declaration of war on poor China."

"But what is the good of contradicting a person who has never been in sympathy with us and has gone out of his way to misinterpret Gandhiji and the Congress ? He is a part and parcel of dirty propaganda against us. And is the statement against me the only untruth in Raman's book ?"

ARE THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS PUPPETS?

"It is sometimes suggested that there is a general impression among people in this country that the present Members of the Executive Council are mere puppets in the hands of the Viceroy who issues them orders everyday as he issues orders to his valet and every Executive Councillor has to obey those orders, in other words, that the whole administrative machinery is run by the Viceroy, and we have no voice in it."

Let me tell you straightaway that there is not one of us who would be willing to serve in these circumstances."

This passage is quoted from a speech by the Imperial drum-boy, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, delivered at Aligarh but distributed in the United States to tell Americans that the Viceroy is the greatest democratic ruler on earth. The truth is the reverse. The I. C. S. runs the show while Councillors merely sign as does Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai in Washington. The author has personal friends among the Viceroy's Executive Councillors and their experience is quite different from Noon's. An eminent member of Lord Linlithgow's cabinet told me that the Viceroy was a great autocrat and flouted the opinions of his Cabinet Members. A member of Lord

Wavell's Cabinet recently told me that the Viceroy is the greatest aristocrat under the British regime and holds very few meetings of the Cabinet to announce his decisions and that he never meets members of his Cabinet for weeks even socially. He further told me that there are practically no social relations between the English and the Indian members of the Cabinet. He told me something more disgusting and insulting which cannot be put into print. But why should a military Viceroy honour people who are in the Cabinet to say "Ditto" to his command and do not represent their country ? Why blame the Viceroy ?

CHAPTER IX

CHAMPION BLUFFS

The king of all hired American perverters of the truth imported to India at our expense to defame us was Peter Muir, author of "This is India". His wife Frances 'admirably' performed the role of the queen of such perverts.

* * * *

No Muslim ever accused the Mahatma of a charge of converting Muslims to Hinduism but this self-advertised 'unbiased' American accuses the Mahatma of 'converting lakhs of Muslims to Hinduism'.

* * * *

Post Wheeler, a former American diplomatic official, in his subsidised book, "India Against the Storm" accuses the Emperor Shah Jehan as follows :—"Twenty thousand Indians (who built the Taj) laboured, decimated by an appalling mortality, for seventeen long years. They got no wages, only food and drink, and were flogged to their work, as Hitler's guards of concentration camps flogged the British prisoners of war to their trench-digging."

* * * *



Mother India

"Self-government for India will certainly be no democracy and certainly no pleasure for Indians. It will lead to many disasters, therefore, let them have it."—A HIRED AMERICAN JOURNALIST.

* * * *

Of the several dozens of anti-Indian publications brought out by the British Information Services and its appendix, the Indian Agency General in Washington, the two published by two Americans, Post Wheeler, a former American diplomat, and Peter Muir, a mercenary American, are the most poisonous.

"India Against The Storm" is the title of Wheeler's book, which is advertised as "well-balanced, always readable, always informative, extremely valuable as a contribution to American understanding of a most important world problem". This book is full of wrong, deliberately mischievous and mean lies in no way inferior to those of the notorious Miss Mayo. Thirty thousand copies of this book were distributed free by the British propaganda authorities in the United States. Wheeler claims to be a friend of India and yet in the very first chapter he starts with the mischievous and mean statement against a great and noble Emperor, Shah Jehan, the builder of the Taj. Which Indian

does not know that to frame the flawless loveliness of the Taj, with its pearly dome tossing back the moonlight over the dust of Shah Jehan's "Darling of the sweetly parted hair," twenty thousand Indians laboured, decimated by an appalling mortality, for seventeen years ? They got no wages, only food and drink, and were flogged to their work as Hitler's guards of the concentration camps flogged the British prisoners of war to their trench-digging ! Are the Indians any better off now ? Of course they are !

PETER THE GREAT .

Peter Muir who was engaged by the British during the last war was also invited to India during 1942. He dined and wined with the Viceroy and the Governors, various Maharajas and British authorities in India for fifteen months. His wife was also employed for sending mischievous broadcasts to the United States from the All-India Radio Stations. His book entitled "This Is India" surpasses Miss Mayo's book in several instances. The jacket of his book says, "After fifteen months, during which he travelled fifteen thousand miles—on ponies, in sedan chairs, rickshaws, automobiles, trains, bombers—and listened to every Indian who would talk to him, Peter Muir set down his

direct impressions, realising, as only people who spend a considerable time in India can realise, that no one becomes an 'authority' on that subcontinent.

"Among other things, he learned why his bearer wouldn't wear a green coat ; why Gandhi doesn't really want the British to leave ; why the Viceroy rarely smiles ; why Rajagopala-chari pretends to be poor ; why all Sikhs have beards ; why the monsoon is more important to the vast majority of Indians than independence ; why Hindu widows can't wear jewelry ; why a visitor becomes tolerant of the topsy-turvy disorder and formlessness ; and why India is a country divided against itself."

"LAKHS OF MUSLIMS CONVERTED"

Here is a typically base and cowardly falsehood propagated in his "unbiased book on India of today written by an unprejudiced American", as is claimed by the publishers (The British Information Services in Washington) on the jacket of the book. On page 168 Peter Muir writes :

"By various tricks and misrepresentations Gandhi has converted lakhs of ignorant Muslims to Hinduism. Among other things he had admonished the students of Aligarh University (Muslim) not to study, as a political protest,

116 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

while the students of Benares (Hindu) were not distracted from the pursuit of learning. This technique could not fool all of the Muslims all of the time."

SOURCE OF FALSEHOODS

That this poisonous lie has undoubtedly been supplied to this Un-American author by the Indian Information Bureau in Delhi, can easily be proved from the very language and the term 'lakhs' (which is seldom used by American writers, they think in millions or hundreds of thousands). No Muslim has ever accused Gandhiji of such foolish things. Who then supplied this information to Peter Muir and his wife, who were both paid employees and official guests of the Information Bureau ?

"ARREST OF GANDHI AND CO."

Writing of the repression in India he says :

"Until the war is won, to quote Hindenburg, order must reign. Any form of activity which impedes the United Nations' war effort must be ruthlessly stamped out. Luckily, the British have been able to keep the situation in hand without our help. The least we can do is to give our moral backing to such necessary measures as the arrest of Gandhi and Co."

HOPES OF CIVIL WAR

Peter Muir is confident of a civil war in India. On page 166 he writes:

"Conversation at dinner only strengthened my beliefs and fears. The other guests were of the Islamic faith, and uppermost in their minds seemed to be the threat of Hindu rule in India. One and all agreed that they would fight rather than submit to it, and a tall, fierce-looking fellow, with large moustaches and a fez, stated categorically that ninety million Muslims could and would tackle three times that number of Hindus any day. On the other hand, a Hindu of Mysore, who holds a high position in the State Government, told me that the Hindus would win, 'because modern warfare depends more on brains than on courage'—an illuminating admission.

"The fact is, however, that both sides discuss the possibility of a civil war openly. I have heard it debated by Indians from the North-West Frontier to Mysore, from Bombay to Calcutta. The thinking people of India realize this great danger, and I believe that many of them, while shouting for liberty, secretly hope that the British Raj will remain."

THE VISION OF MIRZA

"Major Mirza is proud to be the first Indian

118 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

to hold the post of Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar. He said that his ancestors had lost in fair battle to the British, had sworn allegiance to them, and as far as he was concerned, that still held. But there was no question of allegiance to Hindu rule. If that came to pass, and he was alive to see it, he would pack up what belongings he had left and take his family back to Persia, the land of his origin."

Only Major Mirza can state whether he has been faithfully quoted and if he is so much against free India, he can gladly return to the land of his origin—Iran, where he will have a better taste of British overlordship during the war. Such an officer should have no place in the Indian Civil Service if he thinks India a foreign country.

"UNKNOWN GANDHI"

On page 177 his wife Frances, another great American authority on India, makes a real discovery that Gandhi is unknown in the villages of South India. He quotes her broadcast to America as follows:

"I have just driven twelve hundred miles through the villages of the South. *Most villagers with whom I talked had never even heard of Gandhi*". Mrs. Peter Muir does not mention who arranged their tour of South India and

who were the officials who accompanied them and through whom they spoke to the villagers who had never heard of Gandhi.

How stupid would it be on my part to say that during my travels in the rural areas of the United States I found that the majority of people do not know who George Washington was !

SWORN ENEMY OF INDIA

That this Peter Muir, the "Unprejudiced American", so fond of using that title for himself is a sworn enemy of India's freedom, is clear from his mockery of the American sympathy for India's freedom. On page 176 he writes :—

"When the Hindu press featured the report that Americans (supposedly intelligent, patriotic, and of broad knowledge) were meeting and agitating for a free India now, 'as a means of strengthening our fight against the Axis,' I began to wonder about fifth-column activity in the United States".

HIS WIFE'S BROADCAST

On page 177 he proudly mentions his wife's anti-Indian broadcasts. He writes :

"Frances broadcast from Delhi, December 2, 1942, on these interventionist meddlers as follows :

120 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

'Quotations from the American press seem to indicate that the indiscriminate shouting about the Indian problem is becoming increasingly organized. We have just learned of a full-page advertisement which appeared recently in a prominent New York paper, advocating an immediate transfer of power to a so-called provisional government, condemning our allies for their present and past policies in India, and blaming the American Government for inertia in the existing impasse. My copy of the advertisement is anonymous, but it is not difficult to guess what body of opinion inspired this latest "solution".

'What qualifies Pearl Buck, simply because she is something of an authority on China, to advise the American people about the problem of returning India to the Indians—which Indians? In the midst of a war? What qualifies Louis Fischer, who came to India with a closed mind and spent a large part of his brief visit sitting at the feet of Gandhi, to speak as a political authority on the true issues involved in India?

'China and America are deeply exercised about the status of India, we are told. Are the governments of China and the United States prepared to guarantee that, if the British transfer power to some hypothetical Indian Govern-

ment, that Government will be able to keep the peace in India so that the Allies can prosecute the war against Japan ? The mutual hatred between Hindus and Muslims is no myth. I see evidence of it every day. The presence of the British in India at this time is the only guarantee against civil war.' "

GANDHI WOULD HAVE BEEN SHOT

"The unprejudiced American," Peter Muir, seems to have a special prejudice against Gandhiji. He writes :

"It is certain that Gandhi had plenty of time to meditate and meditate before he was arrested, and unquestionably he thought matters over very thoroughly before going ahead with his civil disobedience plans. He could never have hoped that they would succeed, and he knew that he would be detained, but he went ahead. Is it not possible that he felt the need of a little martyrdom to jack up his waning power ? The British had left him alone for such a long time that his stock was declining. But the authorities were clever enough to take much of the sting of martyrdom out of the arrest by placing him in the Aga Khan's comfortable racing palace at Poona. His personal doctor is in attendance. In an Axis-controlled country he would have been shot long ago. So

would those Indians who walk out of moving-picture houses when ‘God Save the King’ is played.”

And Peter Muir does not mention the fate of those Americans who do not believe in Kings and act like the Indians while “God Save the King” is played.

TRAGEDY PREDICTED

Let me conclude this chapter with a few mad outbursts made in typically Mayoish style by Rushton Coulborn in the *South West Review* for Autumn 1942 in an article (which finds first place on the cover) entitled “The British in India.” This writer seems to be mad against us for thinking in terms of independence and as a punishment for our sin of demanding freedom, he is prepared to let us taste the fruit of freedom, since he is sure that it will end in a tragedy for India. He writes :

“*Self-government for India will certainly be no democracy and certainly no pleasure for Indians. It will be fraught with appalling dangers and will lead without doubt to many disasters. Therefore let the Indians have it. Do not suppose that India’s early future under self-government will be anything like so peaceful or so prosperous as it would be under a continuing British raj. There appear to be many*

Indians who think that it will be peaceful and prosperous. It is high time those ignorant men are given the opportunity, denied to them at present, of learning the truth and so reaching an appreciation of political realities.

"It is easy enough to foresee tragedy in the early generations of a self-governing India. There can be small doubt that there will be tragedy. Through it Indians will learn——expensively and bitterly no doubt."

MAJORITY AGAINST CONGRESS

This 'cousin' of Miss Mayo is so ignorant of the position of the Indian National Congress that he thinks the interests of the majority of the people in India are opposed to those of the Congress. He writes :

"To give authority to the Congress Party is inevitably to put the party in a position to further its interests against those of the majority of the Indians".

What a discovery ! The Congress, the party that swept the polls and ruled eight provinces in India, does not represent the majority of India !

Such deliberate nonsense is preached to the people of America through subsidised books, journals, pamphlets, lectures and cocktail parties

124 BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA

to defame India, Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress. One wonders why? And one does feel that it is a pity that we should be forced to pay for our own defamation.

The annual budget for Bajpai's Misinformation Office was admitted on the floor of the Legislative Assembly to be eleven lakhs of rupees. But the large amounts lavishly spent on joy-rides for Indian stooges to America, the huge expenditure on printing millions of sheets flown weekly from India and the cost of the foreign publicity office in Delhi put together would come to a formidable sum. The public men and the press of India have recorded loud protests against this rape of the poor finances of India. On such a non-partisan question all the legislators united and censored the Government on the floor of the Central Legislative Assembly, but they have so far not been able to compel the Government to close the Misinformation Office at Washington. Let Bajpai, Hennessey, Raman and other members of the caravan of bluffs be employed more usefully on some job in Germany where the Nazis are to be re-educated after their defeat!

However, the very fact that the British Imperialist Government found it necessary to carry on a desperate campaign of libel against

India and her demand for independence, employing every means they could stoop to, shows more convincingly than any argument we could raise that India is very dear to Britain and her avaricious rulers will do their utmost, be it honourable or not, to hold on to this brightest jewel in the British crown.

Gandhi, World Citizen

By MURIEL LESTER

Miss Muriel Lester knows Gandhiji intimately. She was his hostess in London when he went for the Round Table Conference. She has been his guest several times when she has visited India. And she knows world-opinion and the high place it gives Gandhiji. She is one of the leading members of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Miss Lester has collected her material with great care and used it with discrimination. All through the book the reader will find very interesting and revealing stories about Gandhiji. In the first part of the book she gives an illuminating study of Gandhiji which is both original and fresh. While in the second part she gives a biographical sketch up to the present.

It is an inspiring book written by a world-famous writer and will rank with Romain Rolland's book on Gandhiji. It is illustrated with rare pictures not yet imported into India.

About Rs. 5

Kitab Mahal ★ Publishers ★ Allahabad

Kashmir, Eden of the East

By S. N. DHAR

With an Introductory Essay by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once complained, "I could not even obtain simple guide-books of Kashmir. Some of the descriptive accounts of the routes to and in Kashmir were so badly got up and printed that it was painful to refer to them."

We have, therefore, published this up-to-date descriptive, informative, beautifully illustrated and handsomely got up book on Kashmir written by a son of the soil.

Pandit Nehru's Introductory essay on Kashmir is a gem by itself. It shows how even seasoned political leaders have succumbed to the charm of Kashmir.

Mr. Dhar has given all the information needed for intending visitors. There are three maps and numerous appendices. But the general reader will find the book very interesting and will learn much about Kashmir and Kashmiris who are a delightful, handsome and talented people.

Rs. 3/12

IMPORTANT BOOKS

WHY I AM A DEMOCRAT by R. Acland Rs. 2

What the present British Prime Minister and nine other leading public men of Britain think 'democracy.'

IN A FREE INDIA by C. N. Zutshi Rs

A timely reminder to Britain of her pledges to India of her mission and a plea for the urgent need for freedom.

OUR AGRICULTURAL PLAN by D. S. Dubey Rs. .

A reliable critique of other plans and an original formulation of a village-centred Plan workable and realistic.

CAREERS by Miss Wahida Aziz Rs. 1/8

The first book in our "Women's" Series, very valuable for every woman with ambition who wishes to choose a career.

INDIAN MUSIC TODAY by S. K. Chaubey Rs. 4/-

A study of Indian Music, Musicians and Schools of music with criticism and interpretation.

RED BREAD by Maurice Hindus Rs. 4/-

A sequel to *Broken Earth* by the world-famous author of *Mother Russia*.

